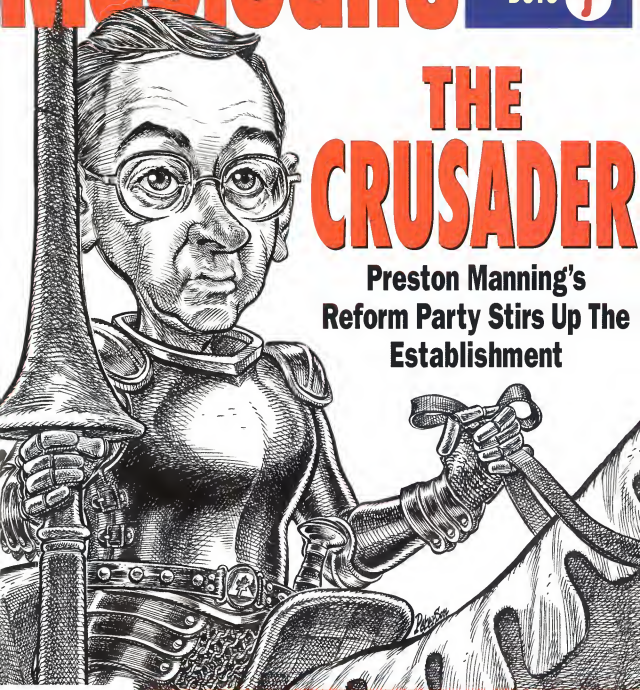




TORONTO
THE GOOD
VS. THE NASTY
BOYS **P**

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THE CRUSADER

**Preston Manning's
Reform Party Stirs Up The
Establishment**



The Leaders Answer Ten Key Questions

Ultimately, there's Black.

Maclean's

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 25, 1993 VOL. 19 NO. 43

The crusader

10 At a time of antipathy towards politicians, or indifference, Preston Manning provokes strong reactions. Some see his Reform party as an incubator of intolerance, others regard him as the last hope to fix an old-father political system. The real Manning is an observant student of politics who has taken his populist crusade to the brink of national influence.



Death and defiance

28 As a campaign of terror swept Haiti, a UN plan to restore democracy collapsed. Peacekeepers, including a team of Mounties, pulled out.



Culture clash

42 The 1993 World Series is a clash of opposites: Toronto's Blue Jays, oddly efficient, took on the Philadelphia Phillies, the down-and-dirty underdogs, as the Jays tried for a rare second straight championship.



Halifax the hip!

50 Far its oceans, the seaport capital of Nova Scotia has long shed shaker off its reputation as a mild backwater. Now, outsiders are giving Halifax rave reviews for its music scene, trendy cafes and its renowned college of art.



COVER: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 10: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 28: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 42: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 50: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 56: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 61: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; 64: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS

Porn star

I was saddened by your approach to satirizing Randy Jorgensen of the rise of pornography in your cover story ("The king of porn," Oct. 11). Randy Jorgensen was clearly portrayed as a capitalist hero, a businessman who successfully wound his way to the top, shamelessly and with pride. The selling of pornographic material cannot be justified by the claim that the actors in the movies say they get out of their work, or by the so-called backstreet profits of one man. Such selfishness might as be condemned as an act to wreck Canada's sense of family, stability, morality, integrity and character.

Rachel Donatone,
Edmonton



Jorgensen, sadness, honesty and regret

Justice for all

Your justice would be served if the five justices of the Supreme Court of Canada who upheld the law against Sae Rodriguez ("A wrenching decision," Canada, Oct. 11) were obliged to sit by her bedside while she dies.

Peggy Anne Goodwin,
Ottawa

Breaking faith

I have difficulty accepting the possibility that one of the parties that might hold the balance of power is not a national party, but the Bloc Québécois ("Minority partners," From the Editor, Oct. 11). It is hypocritical for a member of Parliament, having taken an oath of allegiance to the Crown, to hold a seat in the House of Commons after endorsing a disunited Canada. When the oath of allegiance is broken, that member should forfeit the right to be a sitting member, without the condition the oath is meaningless. As things stand, tax dollars are being paid to members of a separatist party to help in their fight to break up the country.

J. P. Dorval,
Calgary, Alta.

Universally poor

No candidate would not funding to health care ("Social programs: the cuts to come," Canada, Oct. 11). But in 1980, the federal government began to decrease health-care transfer payments to the provinces.

Since these transfer payments are not to end by the year 2001, he would ask each national leader: "Would you admit that we cannot afford our health-care system under the present rules? Would you change the rules? What basic health care should every Canadian be entitled to? What are the extra we cannot afford? Failure to answer, failure to act, condones us to a vision of universal poor care, care that will become poorer. You can let us that. I work there."

Dr. Peter Zelen
Sudbury, Ont.

The common good

The idea of bringing a group of Canadians together to try to look at the debt problem ("Tough choices," Cover, Sept. 22) seems a very effective way of bringing the problem home. It will be through that kind of focus that we can perhaps accomplish what began to happen in your group when the agricultural representatives saw other interests being slashed by 30 per cent, or the whittled-away loss of 30 per cent reduction in agricultural subsidies. If Canadians were able to put our common interests ahead of our particular interests, then we might just put the debt problem behind us.

Bob Jamieson,
Za Za Creek, B.C.

Union members

Your analysis of Canadian industry's strategies to save jobs ("Laboring for a new growth," Business, Oct. 4) contains two inaccuracies. You attribute to one two statements that membership of unions in mining and manufacturing dropped 37 per cent between 1970 and 1988, and that in the 1980s, "the total number of members enrolled in Canadian unions has actually stagnated." First, the aggregate decline in the mining and manufacturing sectors was 13.5 per cent, not 37 per cent as you suggest. And second, although union density as a percentage of nonagricultural workforce in unions has remained virtually unchanged, total union membership in Canada has risen steadily throughout the 1980s. My contention is that the Canadian union movement has remained strong, notwithstanding reductions in the face of an increasingly unfavorable economic and public policy climate, due in large part to its proactive strategies and solidarity in workers' changing needs and expectations.

Pauline Kanner,
Associate Director,
School of Industrial Relations,
Queen's University,
Kingston, Ont.

Letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please include return address and telephone number. Write Letters to the Editor, Globe and Mail, 270 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1K7. Or fax: (416) 593-7700.



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Thinking like a customer.

My wife and I are returning our copy of your Oct. 11 issue about Randy Jorgensen and the spread of pornography in Canada today as our expression of disgust and regret with your decision to give space and visibility to a key figure in an industry so destructive and demeaning to children and to women.

Rae Rob Shavies,
Willingdon Square United Church,
Burlington, Ont.

OPENING NOTES

WORD FOR WORD

Maggie's stiletto

Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher is certainly hard to miss in Canadian media. In her early job as a news anchor, *The Dominion* Street View (Wagner/Culver)

At the 22-nation North-South summit in Caracas, Mexico, in October, 1986 "An official Canadian draft [of the final communiqué] was in effect rejected, and Prime Trudeau left it largely to the rest of us, making clear that he thought our efforts rather less good than his own."

At the G-7 summit in Williamsburg, Va., in May, 1989 "Pierre Trudeau of Canada did have a problem with a strong line on de-nuclease. He urged us all to 'speak more softly' to the Soviet Union. There followed some no-confidence between the two of us which I later described in a letter to him as 'the lovely side'."

Visiting Ottawa on September,

1983 "What liberal idiots like [Trudeau] seemed over like to group was that such acts of heroism in the shadow of the [Bikini Air Force] offshore aircraft [by Soviet planes earlier that month] were by no means uncharacteristic of the Communist system itself."

Later in the same week "I had my first meeting with [Prime Minister] Brian Mulroney. He was charming and charismatic but he lacked any real political experience. . . . Mulroney said I was to become good friends, though we were very different sorts of politicians and we were to have some serious disagreements. As leader of the Progressive Conservatives, I thought he put too much stress on the adjective as opposed to the noun."

At the 1985 Commonwealth summit in Pusan, Jeonju, "We 2 o'clock, Brian Mulroney and [his daughter] Rona Gifford arrived at the



Thatcher, Mulroney: 'near-simultaneous criticism'

house to show me their [first communiqué]. Also, I could not give them high marks and spent the best part of two hours explaining why their proposals were unacceptable to me."

At the 1987 Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, where Thatcher was isolated in her opposition to southern African South African

create a job—fine, he's bringing something to Canada. But what is he bringing? Death and destruction to the people."

"[The] CRIC will not allow Christian television in Canada, but they let the *Midwest* put a picture of the devil coming up on the screen. You can all see it [Toronto radio station] Q107, and read some about the devil, and about the bad things and everything inside and everything else, and then you turn on *Midwest* and they're singing about beating up people and raping women. And then they want to chastise our kids. . . . We're being looked on as bores and drags and we're going to end up just like the Indians."

"I don't really want to be an ap, but everybody has got to do it. I would like to be prime minister one day."

Reck: under attack, out of the campaign

CAMPAIGN SCRAPBOOK

Notes from Week 6 of the federal campaign

• **Don't shoot the piano player:** Relations between Kim Campbell and the national news media improved on October 1, but campaign have deteriorated to an extraordinary extent. Campbell seems to have convinced herself that her party has plummeted in popularity because journalists are unable to communicate her message. She courted local reporters in the lead-up to the election, but the national media were not allowed to attend. Instead, they were given the tapes later. Flabbergasted American journalists on her tour have not only asked their Canadian colleagues why the Prime Minister's relations with the media were allowed to become so hostile, for her part, a constant line of complaints has streamed in from journalists.

• **Grin and bear it:** Audrey McLaughlin has scheduled a visit to her dentist in Whitehorse on October 10, Oct. 10. The vote leader in B.C. is an innovator a few days before the TV debates on Oct. 3 and 4, but her schedule showed her as late as 10 p.m. on Oct. 10. With her party still in the polls last week, election day is shaping up to be painful in many ways this time.

• **Charismatic:** "Honor" has been thrown out the window and they're shopping it out," said Nathan Deneault last week. A nomination of the campaign from the

last week. The glare of media attention made the top an eye-opener for the 35-year-old. "I hope the voters don't get deceived by everything they read in the news," she said. "The whole picture is very complex. I talk with my dad about things and I know where he is really coming from." During an appearance at York University in Toronto, student activists waved signs asking: Reform with respect and compassion. Declared May Jay "This would be a great day for the University of Calgary."

• **Charismatic:** "Honor" has been thrown out the window and they're shopping it out," said Nathan Deneault last week. A nomination of the campaign from the

calculated at Kim Campbell's "Papa" Drivley was commenting on the world class championship in London. A coach professor at the University of British Columbia and president of the Canadian Chess Federation is working with a panel of international experts who analyze every move between world champion Garry Kasparov and reigning champion Nigel Short. Drivley explains that the political competition back home—or has even been chosen. His reply when asked about the decision: "I'm very happy that the Blue Jays beat the White Sox. Now why does that kind of cricket seem so familiar?"



May for Manning: eye-opener

PASSAGES

AWARDED: The Nobel Peace Prize (W to South African Nelson Mandela, 75, and F. W. de Klerk, 57, for trying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa) by the five-person Norwegian panel that administered the \$1.1 million award. De Klerk, elected president of South Africa in 1989, released African National Congress leader Mandela from prison one year later, where he had been since 1963 on charges of trying to overthrow the apartheid government. The Nobel panel cited the two men, who have been in almost constant negotiations since then, for their "personal courage



and great political courage" in reaching an agreement as a new political regime based on one man, one vote. South Africa's first national election was scheduled for April 27, 1994. In coming to power, Mandela is the country, de Klerk said the prize "will bring a message to all South Africans that the world wants us to achieve lasting peace." Added Mandela, "The Nobel Prize is a tribute to all South Africans."

APPAUED: A suspended sentence (when the man who stabbed Yugoslav-born tennis star Monica Seles, 18, in the back during an April tournament in Hamburg) by German state prosecutors. The appeal followed public outcries after Gerd Müller, 28, an unemployed law graduate from eastern Germany, received a two-year suspended sentence from a Hamburg judge.

BORN: To Michel Mouton, 20, and Donald Trump, 47, a seven-page, seven-ounce document in a plain Beatty, Pa., hospital. Trump, who has daughter will be named Tiffany after the Fifth Avenue jewelry store near his Trump Tower residential-office-shopping complex.

AWARDED: Canada's highest literary prize, the \$20,000 Leonard Frick, to Raimund Mäkelä, 44, a Finnish-born author and editor of the Arabic word. The Iraqi-born Mäkelä, who has written two other books under pseudonyms, said he has had to live in exile in Cambridge, Mass. The 44-year-old prize is awarded by a Canadian committee to the year's best book on international relations published in English.

'Death and destruction'

"They think I'm anti, but I'm not an Islamophobe," said John Reek last week with a shrug, his candidacy for the Reform party in the North Toronto riding of York Centre. Party officials asked Reek to resign after comments he made to the North University student newspaper, *Excelsior*, came under attack at racist and xenophobic. Reek said he stands by his remarks. Excerpts from the *Excelsior* article:

"I think we have to have immigrants, and people that are assets to Canada is a nice thing. But they can't be getting close to come here. . . . You have a \$130,000 guy there coming to buy a citizenship and Canada is



BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Robber Stone*, Margaret Atwood (2)
2. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Waller (6)
3. *London*, Ian McEwan (2)
4. *The Boston Housewife*, Jane Smiley (2)
5. *Changeling*, Patricia Galloway (2)
6. *Highlanders & Dreamers*, Stephen King (2)
7. *Reckless*, Neil Patrick Harris (2)
8. *In a Silent World*, Peter Hain (2)
9. *The River Swallow*, Peter Hain (2)
10. *Dear Thomas*, Michael Ondaatje (2)

F. J. Proulx and
Compiled by Anne Sullivan

NONFICTION

1. *Prozac Nation*, Janet Malcolm (4)
2. *The World and the Shaking*, John Jay (2)
3. *RedLandscape*, Jerry Springer (2)
4. *Women: Power, Timeliness*, David Jackson (2)
5. *Against the War with the Women*, Dennis P. Hays (2)
6. *Black and White*, Betty Williams, Stephen Mulvey (2)
7. *Freud's Women*, Janet Malcolm (2)
8. *The Secret of Life*, John Jay and David Jackson (2)
9. *The Frontiers of Age*, Peter Hain (2)
10. *Further Along the Road*, Peter Hain (2)



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COLUMN



Why free trade remains important

BY DIANE FRANCIS

No matter who is in the seat prime minister, the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement must be preserved because it is accessible and quantifiable benefit to the country. During the election campaign, the NDP and Liberal parties bashed it, incorrectly blaming it for the loss of thousands of manufacturing jobs. But their numbers overstate jobs losses and ignore job gains in other sectors. Despite the worldwide recession, innovative Canadian export benefits have also expanded free trade and many of our manufacturers are posting huge profits that those of us with spare cash should take a look at them as investments.

"Thank goodness for free trade—it's saved manufacturers," says Stephen Van Hoesen, president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association. "The real problem facing most manufacturers is that their prices have only gone up two per cent since 1981, while inflation has gone up 17 per cent, and they're still selling for 38 per cent and paying loans for 100 per cent and working compensation for 45 per cent."

NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin's claim that 480,000 jobs have been lost is totally without foundation. And the losses that have happened in manufacturing are only half the story. Statistics Canada figures in July, 1993, show that since the beginning of 1989, when the free trade deal took effect, there were 337,000 fewer jobs in the manufacturing industry, but that another 267,000 jobs were created in the service sector. This means that Canada has experienced a net gain of 30,000 jobs since free trade, despite the recession.

This compares, by the way, to a net loss of 513,000 jobs in California since 1989, that year that state's economy was in a recession. In the last year of free trade, many Canadian companies have expanded and prospered, which bodes well for future job creation. A Wood Gundy Inc. report this fall by former media adviser John Robin and Peter Buchanan pointed out that exports of final products

Canada's trade surplus keeps growing thanks to free trade, which is why any notion about renegotiating the deal could backfire

in 1993 compared with 1989 rose 15 per cent in 1993 compared with 1989, while our exports rose 15 per cent in 1993 compared with 1989. And that manufacturing goods now represent nearly half of Canada's exports, up from 38 per cent in 1989 before free trade. This important trend represents a beneficial change from the resource-oriented nature of our exports to the type of high-tech, value-added goods and services that represent for Canada a renewable, long-term growth.

In 1994, manufacturing exports, already well in front of the earnings, already surpassed for the first time the 1989 level. The report predicts "Net earnings of the 75 manufacturing firms in the 1993-1994 period had substantial production output from a 1993-1994 loss during 1991. Fourth quarter 1993 saw a 1993-1994 profit by the end of last year (1993). Through the first five months of 1994 reported earnings doubled again. The first quarter for almost 50 per cent of the 75-300 companies so far in 1994 compared to the 1993-1994 average of about 17 per cent (all companies)."

The editorial C.D. Howe Institute think tank also analyzed Canada's trade performance since 1989. But it took a different per-

spective in its analysis. Schwartz report entitled "A Growing Success: Canada's Performance Under Free Trade." Senior policy analyst and author of the report Daniel Schwartz pointed out that the value of exports to the United States has grown more in those sectors where tariffs were lowered or eliminated under free trade than the increase in the value of new or semi-processed resource exports (like many forms and mineral products) that have traditionally been heavily traded. Meanwhile exports of other non-processed, resource-based products also grew to the United States, but not to the rest of the world. For example, such U.S. demand as ports enjoying lower tariffs were up 24.8 per cent by 1993 when compared with 1989, but down 1.8 per cent with the rest of the world.

The report separates automotive and crude oil export trends from the figures because their size and well-known export programs, making without such for decision. But here, the news is also good. The value of crude oil exports is up 40 per cent between 1989 and 1993, from approximately \$5 billion to \$6.7 billion.

Canada's car and truck export surplus to the United States went from \$2.2 billion to \$17.7 billion, while our ports import deficit decreased only from \$3.7 billion to \$6.1 billion. This brings the net surplus in auto and parts to a whopping \$11.6 billion from \$8.5 billion in 1989.

The C.D. Howe study, like that of the manufacturing association, also concluded that free trade bolstered the blue economy by the global recession. "Canada's weak economic performance since 1989 cannot be blamed on free trade," Schwartz wrote. "Manufacturing trade made a positive contribution to what little economic growth Canada experienced between 1989 and 1993. Free trade has helped the Canadian economy to register gains it would not otherwise have had. While the net employment effect so far (all free trade) has probably been slightly negative, because of the labor market nature of the 'losing' sectors, these industries expanding under free trade are high-value added, higher-paying industries than these lost. In the end, overall, these trends indicate that the FTA is placing Canada in a better competitive position in industries vital to the country's economy."

Unleashed by the free trade agreement, the rapidly growing service sector has boosted services such as engineering, computer consulting, banking, insurance and freight handling, plus a 30-40 per cent overall jump in the service sector.

The bottom line is that Canada has found better than has the United States with this deal and it is lucky to have it. Canada's trade surplus keeps growing thanks to the original and improved access, which is why any notion about renegotiating the deal could backfire because it would be a reverse result. Indeed, our success—concern to persuade ourselves by certain politicians during the election campaign—could harm us in the increasingly free trade U.S. Congress.



Chrétien, once under Liberal says his advisers 'don't understand the magnitude of the problem'

John Young, president of the Nova Scotia Liberals "The most disconcerting fact about winning an election these days is that you come to realize to only find out that you are financially strapped."

Mr. Young takes pause in Ottawa after Oct. 25 will be seriously constrained by treasury woes. During the first five months of the 1993-1994 fiscal year the federal deficit hit \$18.8 billion—\$2 billion more than in the same period a year earlier. "They don't understand the magnitude of the problem," said one fiscally conservative Liberal adviser last week, citing meeting on the party's preparations to take power. "They think they can trim around the edges, and a lot of them won't admit that you can't spend your way out of the problem. These guys are writing a 100-page document based on realities that aren't real anymore."

The new reality, as Savage discovered, can be summarized in three words: Money and Little Time. The next federal government, especially if it lacks a majority, is unlikely to have the luxury of a long retreat to ponder cabinet choices and the structure of committee structures. Chrétien's advisers have said privately that they would prefer to roll out next February to bring in a new budget, but not a new budget.

Speaker on federal finances gets up now, a Liberal administration might be forced into presenting an interim financial statement well before then.

The list of all other pressing political problems in long "Shovel Ready" North America Free Trade Agreement before its scheduled implementation on Jan. 1, as Chrétien has promised? Should deep cuts be made to deliver spending, something all parties have called for, at a time when the Canadian Forces are taking an additional \$1.5-billion cut? Should the Bank of Canada Governor John Crow have his term renewed when it expires on Jan. 31?

For Chrétien, even such seemingly simple steps as concealing the helicopter program may be fraught with difficulty. The savings may be as large as he has implied. Last week, National Defence officials put the cost of concealing the program at \$500 million. Cancelled contracts would also hurt Canadian workers. Canadian firms, notably Montreal-based Bombardier Systems Canada Inc., stood to benefit from \$1.1 billion of Ottawa spending on the program. Chrétien's other short-term problems would be no less difficult. Will his plan to change the way the GST is collected while sharing its revenues with the provinces satisfy those Canadians who expected him to swing the tax altogether?

On the basis of polls so far, all these decisions might have to be made by a government lacking a majority in the Commons—an which case Canadians are likely to witness some unconventional alliances. The alternative would be a during take-it-to-the-bank style that might leave Canadians back to the polls with in months' time of the hottest issue.

JOBS

The Liberals would voters away from the Tories by making jobs, rather than deficit reduction, the centerpiece of their campaign. But Chrétien would have to persuade voters and funding even for his modest \$1-billion plan to repair and upgrade roads, sewers and bridges—he says it will create 100,000 temporary jobs. The Liberals would ask the provinces and municipalities to share equally in the cost. But while the municipal jobs can be argued as a form of such a program for more than a decade, most large budget shorthfalls themselves. The provinces, too, have reduced Chrétien's plan. But Nova Scotia's Sault and Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells both said that they respect their provinces' right to the land's share of the cost. That is just a taste of the squabbling to be expected from all three levels of government, all crying poor, before any job plans are put.

If Canadians elect a Liberal minority, the new government would need allies to get its legislation through the Commons. The Tories and Blocs: reduced Chrétien's program throughout the campaign, and would insist that Ottawa find new places to cut—not boost—spending. As a result, Chrétien might have to seek support from the Bloc Québécois to get a job bill passed. Beachard concludes that the Bloc shares common ground with federal parties on non-constitutional issues. "We will support any party which cuts taxes, military spending and government operations in order to invest in jobs," Beachard told Maclean's last week.

QUEBEC AND NATIONAL UNITY

Beachard and Chrétien working together? What at first glance appears postpositive, a more realistic, and so unlikely. As much as the two leaders disagree about Quebec's future, they also agree on one thing: to push their own common turf. Both parties, for ex-

Canada Notes

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON

As expected, Quebec Treasury Board president Daniel Johnson Jr. declared himself a candidate to succeed retiring Premier Robert Bourassa. The son of a former premier, Johnson is a social conservative and an unapologetic federalist in a party badly divided on constitutional issues. But, faced with Johnson's already strong support in the party, no other candidate appears likely to rise.

A BOUNCING BOTTOM LINE

Ontario's auditor refused to endorse the province's 1993-1994 financial reports because they understated government spending by \$528 million. In a rare move, Ed Stelmach said that the decision by John Boyd's 1994 government to defer a pension fund payment to the next fiscal year was "too big to ignore." The deferral allowed the Ontario government to record last year's deficit as \$11.3 billion, instead of \$12.5 billion. Treasurer Lloyd Axworthy rejected opposition allegations that he was "cooking the books."

COOGER'S WORKS

Financial and legal troubles continue to shadow First Minister Michel Cuccer. The Tory activist will lose control of his next private secretary Brian Mulroney in being made by two Montreal-area millionaire lottery winners, who allege that the senator failed to repay a \$10,000 loan by last February as promised. Cuccer also owes \$10,000 in the Quebec and federal governments, and has acquired last June on charges of influence peddling has been appealed by the Crown.

CLEARING THE AIR

The Supreme Court of Canada agreed to hear an appeal brought by two tobacco companies on the legality of the federal government's ban on tobacco advertising. The tobacco companies argue that the ad ban and other restrictions on how they can promote tobacco products violate their freedom of expression under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

JAIL FOR LOGGING PROTESTERS

In a hostile wooded domain, Justice took a back at the B.C. Supreme Court handed down \$150,000 in costs and fines of at least \$10,000 each to 46 protesters who had ignored court orders against disrupting logging at Clapnet Seward. More than 700 people, most of them first-time offenders, have been charged with obstructing or assaulting since July.

The way ahead

After the votes are counted, it will be time to face the new realities

Jean Chrétien was acting as though he could already feel the headlines of the prime minister's office underfoot. Tearing Ontario last week towards the end of a reasonably trouble-free campaign, Chrétien seemed to say it was time to demonstrate some prime ministerial maturity. Time to call some shots. The future of the 43 PM-93 billings that the Conservatives promised to buy for \$14 billion? "They're gone," Chrétien said about 900 high-school students in Welland. How quickly would he start creating jobs with his \$6-billion public works projects? "Right away," he said. With polls showing—and

some opponents even conceding—a Liberal victory on Oct. 25, Chrétien started to talk about what he and do, rather than what he *might* do as prime minister.

But campaigning is almost always easier than governing, as new Nova Scotia Premier John Savage would surely attest. Last May, Savage took power after promising to put the province's 70,000 unemployed back to work with out imposing new taxes. But when he brought down his maiden budget in September, fiscal reality curbed Savage's plans. Taxes rose and a major job-creation program was abandoned. "We are up against our own rhetoric," complained

CAMPAIGN '93

ample, would react coldly from Reform to the middle-of-the-road liberalism. And, said Bouchard, "any party that wants to defend racial programs will find an ally in the Bloc."

Bouchard's long-term interests might be served by guaranteeing up the federal system, and, he calls for independence talks on the belief that Canada as it exists does not work. But he notes that his party will not deliberately sabotage the federal government as long as Quebec remains in the fold. "We will have to act responsibly," he said last week as polls suggested that he might win up to 40 of Quebec's 75 seats. "We have to prove that our goal of sovereignty is not an illusion." To that end, he said that he would assume the title of leader of the opposition if it is offered by the Governor General.

While the Liberals may be on a war footing against the Bloc, they, too, are more likely to be up than down constitutional. Clark's challenge is to show that the federal system can work for Quebecers. By shattering the province with federal largesse, Clark would risk losing the wrath of Manning and Belton, but would deny Bouchard the chance to take gratuitous shots at Clinton, Manning, or even Johnson in a charge of the provincial party, he—said Clinton—can lead the defence of Canada in Quebec.

POLITICAL REFORM

Members of Parliament have talked for years about the need to give individual MPs more clout, rid the wings of lobbyists and reduce the perks of power. Little was done. It was only in the eve of this election (and partly for example, that the Tories finally proposed a ban on double-dipping, by which former MPs can collect their pensions while holding down another government job).

The arrival of a supranational member of Belton's may accelerate change. Pierre Belton's holding news conferences in the Commons barbershop to denounce substandard barbers, or staged protests against inappropriate meals at the parliament's restaurant. But Belton's greatest impact may be on the way individual members do their jobs. As such, advisors to represent the democracy they could easily come off badly far real parties whose MPs choose to follow their own consciences, or party dictators, on sensitive issues. That suggests that the next Parliament's members are destined to be a really different constituency from the one to which Canadians have grown accustomed.

BRUCE WALLACE with
ANDY JUNGLEY in Toronto
and NANCY HODG in Montreal

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

Perhaps it is just the destined scenes reduced by prolonged exposure to a political campaign, but the similarities between Jean Chrétien and Stephen Manning are increasingly obvious. It is not just their mutual passion for jeans shirts, their closeness in age (Chrétien is 50, Manning is 50 or the near-identical build). Both are also populists who mask political savvy behind an anti-establishment, anti-elitist persona, and whose political rhetoric is an all-too-familiar jargon. In their answer who has not heard Chrétien read Manning's health-care plans by adding such a detail who went to the United States, suffered a heart attack, recovered, then "had another heart attack when he was the MP?" Or has anyone not heard Manning's line that the Liberals would "surrender the last victory by breaking it down into two parts. No. I. How much money did you make? No. 2. Send it in."

If that is any guide, the changes between the two leaders in the next Parliament may resemble a number of versions of the old *How I Became a Senator* show, replete with corn-pone humor. But that shared ground obscures a far more dramatic—and stark—shift, as the Liberals prepare to end nine years of Tory rule, the erosion of political debate is about to take a sharp turn to the right.

Consider the likely outcome of the election. The Liberals, by their own measure, are close to but not certain of winning a majority of the 295 seats. The Tories are an iron-fist party pulling in the last week they will likely win 25 to 40 seats. The New Democratic Party will probably win fewer than the 12 seats required for official recognition as a party. Reform could win up to 70 seats. If it does, the party will almost certainly be the official opposition. And

the Bloc Québécois seems set to win at least 50 of Quebec's 75 seats.

Now, consider what that means. The NDP, the only party to the left of the Liberals, will be rendered virtually irrelevant—and probably also leaderless. Similarly, leading party questions will drop the Tories. Already, prominent Tories are discussing what—and who—comes next after the party's impending defeat. Even if Kim Campbell wants to stay on, the party will likely face the sort of internal warfare that scarred them after their defeat in 1978, and the Liberals after their defeat in 1984.

In the new Parliament, the only leaders with unquestioned authority over their MPs will be Chrétien, Manning and Lucien Bouchard. Bouchard's every

statement will be regarded with suspicion as the rest of the country. So will any attempt by others to win his support. The Tories, meanwhile, will have to establish themselves in opposition by moving further to the right of the Liberals—and closer to Reform. And Manning, whose party is now more popular than the Tories outside of Quebec, would win daily attention if he leads questioning of government policy in Parliament as leader of the official opposition.

If the Liberals win a majority, Manning will be well-placed to become, in his own words, the "usual outcast of Parliament," holding every expenditure up for scrutiny. If the Liberals form a minority government, and there are no enough Tory members to push down over the top, they will have to seek support for every bill on the hard, suspicious ground to the right of them—unless, as currently seems unlikely, because of the deep animosity between the two men, Chrétien and Bouchard become occasional allies.

All that seems to guarantee that the sharply different ideas of Jean Chrétien and Preston Manning will soon be spelled out even more clearly. As on stage performers, they share many characteristics. As political leaders, they do not share differences nor do deeper than the traditional dispute over how to treat Quebec. Still, the biggest fight for the future political direction of all of Canada will begin



Belton's success will push the political debate further to the right



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The crusader

Preston Manning gets set to take on Ottawa

Returning to his opponents last week, Canadians might have expected Reform Leader Preston Manning to spout horns at any moment. In speech after speech, representatives of Canada's three traditional parties portrayed Manning as a man bent on pushing medieval, barbaric, homophobic and homophobic, rabidly racist citizens of their persons and lacking Quebec out of Confederation. Winnipeg Conservative MP Donnelly (Dubie) struck one of the hardest blows when she suggested that Manning, an evangelical Christian, secretly wants to impose his "dangerous" religious views on the nation. But to Manning's oldest and closest friends, those allegations were both predictable and preposterous. Predictable, because Manning's party has emerged as a serious contender in the Oct. 28 election. Preposterous, his supporters contend, because Manning is nothing like the neo-fundamentalist depicted by his critics. "That's not me, guys," protests Edmonton business consultant Don Harshbarger, a Manning intimate for more than 25 years. "That's just not the guy."

Perhaps not, but questions bedevil Manning and his candidates' election-day approach. They are fueled by polls showing that the alby, bespectacled former management consultant has a realistic shot at becoming leader of Her Majesty's official opposition. Yet outside of Alberta—where his father, Ernest Manning, was premier for 25 years—the 51-year-old Manning remains for many an unknown con-

science. As such, he has become the unwitting agent of their greatest hopes—or deepest fears.

Even some Reform insiders acknowledge that many of the voters who have flocked to the party in recent weeks know little about its policies. On the surface, Manning's platform of drastic government cuts seems more likely to repel voters than attract them. He wants provinces to run medicine as they see fit, opening the door to user fees, extra billing and even a competing private health-care system. And medicine is not the only sacred cow he is prepared to take on. Most

are wants to cut Old Age Security benefits to seniors with household incomes above \$54,000, slash the number of new immigrants, slash off-circuit legislation and cancel provincial subsidies for special-interest groups. His constitutional position is similarly blunt. Quebec, he says, is a province like any other. No special status.

To many voters, those policies have a fresh and honest appeal. For them, Manning seems a modern-day crusader, battling a corrupt and cynical political establishment. At the same time, however, the party has attracted an unknown number of extremists whose pronouncements can do little to Reform's credibility. One of the most embarrassing came last week when Julia Beck, a Reform candidate in the Toronto-area riding of York Centre, delivered a tirade against marijuana in an interview with a university newspaper. "I feel we have lost control of our country," Beck later said. *The Toronto Star*. "It seems to be predominantly Jewish people who are running this country."

As he has done several times since helping to launch the Reform party in 1987, Manning moved swiftly to distance himself from the controversy. Less than an hour after hearing about Beck's remarks, Manning dropped her as a candidate. But the media promised a spate of interview publicity when Manning could least afford it. Within 24 hours, conservative strategists were phoning reporters with information about another Reform candidate who had publicly joked about family violence. Said Tory worker Michael Coates: "Preston Manning has given a false impression of what the Reform party is all about. In many cases, their candidates are down right crazy."

As a predominantly white, middle-class protest movement, the Reform party has indeed attracted more than its share of loose cannons. Harshbarger, for one, says that new parties by definition



Manning; and with wife Sandra (left) deeply religious

"tend to attract extreme people—those who want to get rid of all the Asians or whatever," he adds. "There are still lots of people in the party who are total right-wing wackos. They're in that minority, but people want to paint the Reform party that way. He [Manning] has to hear that louder." In Ottawa, a Reform caucus would be at the centre of the national media glare and Manning could find that invasive MP at his worst to be a major preoccupation.

In fact, Manning remains the main defence against charges that the party is intolerant. Friends, relatives and associates describe him as a generous man who treats people with respect, regardless of their race, religion or beliefs. As a private consultant for over two decades, he worked for many of Alberta's largest energy companies. But he also helped to create one of Edmonton's first after-hour day care centres and gave housing projects in northern Alberta. Beginning in the 1980s, Manning endorsed a political theory known as "social conservatism," which attempts to meld free-enterprise principles with traditionalist concerns. His thinking will prove as much to Torontonians as it will to Reformers—a point Harshbarger last week when he told a campaign rally in Cambridge, Ont., that "shouldn't largely be the MPP, the Canadian Parliament now has a social conscience that permeates every party. That's why medicine, pensions and unemployment insurance are safe as long as we can figure out how to release them."

It is the polls indicate Manning is destined to be a major force in Ottawa after Oct. 28, his influence could likely be felt in unorthodox ways. Manning has already stated that he's in particular would be to overturn parliamentary tradition so that opposition members can collect money bills without bringing down the government. The party would then push for other reforms—including giving voters the right to recall MPs who fail to represent their views. In keeping with the party's call for tough action on the deficit, Manning also promised last week to raise four questions every time the next government table a spending proposal. "Is it necessary? How much is it going to cost? Where are you going to get the money? Why don't we spend less?"

That list of questioning is vintage Manning. A management consultant by profession, a systems analyst and policy wonk by inclination, he dissects problems with a military eye. Says Diane Abbot, a professor with a national eye: "Bernie Dineen, Abbot's brother, chairman of Reform and the party's candidate in Calgary North." He's very good at providing options and helping people to reach consensus." Whether that approach will work in the partisan heat of the House of Commons is unclear. But even there, says Abbot, Manning will try to reach out to Canadians who have lost faith in the system. "He won't counterpose the type of selfish and snarling that goes on now."

Manning is also unlikely to tolerate members of his caucus or party whose behaviour seems to discredit him. It is a lesson—one of many—that Manning learned by watching his father govern Alberta for a quarter of a century. And as almost everyone who knows the Reform leader agrees, Manning is very much his father's son.

Preston Manning was born in Edmonton in June, 1940. Just a year before his father became Alberta's second Social Credit premier, Ernest Manning inherited that office from William (Bible Bill) Aberhart, a charismatic Baptist preacher who had taken the Social Credit from obscurity to a landslide victory in 1935. After Aberhart's death in 1943, Ernest Manning sought to root out darkness from the party—eschewing an anti-Semitic element that blamed the Depression on "Jewish financiers." To a large degree, the premier succeeded—but acknowledged when the elderly Manning was a

The new palace guard

CAMPAIGN '93

It was the night of June 15, 1994, and disappointed supporters of Jean Chrétien were struggling to come to grips with his loss that day to John Turner in the race to succeed Pierre Trudeau as an Ottawa-based Chrétien supporter gathered for a wake, many in tears. Others loudly denounced the "betrayal" of Chrétien by Quebec cabinet ministers such as François Trépanier and André Baril. Both had supported Turner, who defeated Chrétien by 454 votes that night. The Chrétien camp's dispute, one durandine against another, calmly grinning one another at the front door of the hotel—and making no secret of his views of the future. "Welcome," said Chrétien's longtime friend Eddie Goldenberg, "to the first meeting of the 454 Club."

It was a gesture that any derided Liberal could understand. In 1969, after Turner's first run for the leadership, friends formed "The 150 Club"—a reference to the number of Turner supporters on the final ballot at that convention. Even on the night of Chrétien's defeat, Goldenberg was looking forward to the next day's brawl would have a shot at becoming prime minister.

Nine years later, Chrétien appears poised to achieve that aim—and Goldenberg is still by his side. The 45-year-old Montreal-born

lawyer, the son of a senator, is, as Liberals like to say, "the first person Chrétien knew other than his wife in the morning, and the last person he talks to at night." Loyalty runs deep to Chrétien, so many of the people who will accompany him to the House of Commons will be Goldenberg's friends. A disheveled member will be Goldenberg—and, more specifically, anglophone Montrealers. A survey of Chrétien's hidden advisers and their prospects.

Chrétien and Goldenberg regular access to the boss

would, as always, rely heavily on his for friendship and advice.

John Buz, 41, is probably Chrétien's most trusted adviser—and the single most trusted of figures in the Liberal campaign. The elder brother of Ontario's premier, he has been on leave for two months from his job as vice-president of Montreal-based Power Corp., a great financial and commercial conglomerate, for short. Chrétien's vision of Canada as a country in which immigrants and anglophones should feel equally at home in every province. He worked for Chrétien in the late 1960s, and is everyone's choice to become chief of staff. But to the dismay of many Liberals, Buz would prefer to return to Montreal, and probably would not take the job unless persuaded by Chrétien. Said one friend: "John does not want it, but he would be too loyal ever to say no to a prime minister."

Two other possibilities for chief of staff are Allan Lufly, 36, a Montreal-born lawyer now based in Ottawa, and David Rossman, 44, another native Montrealer who is a former dean of the faculty of administration at the University of Ottawa. Lufly worked as executive assistant to Trudeau and has known

As one aide puts it: 'We are not exactly representative of the country at large'

• Despite his close relations with Chrétien, Goldenberg would be an unlikely choice for 1993 chief of staff. Many Liberals complain that he is overly protective of Chrétien, shielding him from constructive criticism. He was also considered an success administrator as Chrétien's principal secretary from 1986 to 1992. Instead, Goldenberg will likely become a senior adviser. His duties would be largely undefined, but he would have regular access to the prime minister—also



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Chretien for more than 20 years. Lally Chretien, he tells often about the need to uphold integrity in politics. But he has worked only sporadically for the party in the last three years, and some Liberals say that Lally is not sufficiently in touch with the grassroots to be Canadian side in the job. But those who know her in a personal way, like a senior policy adviser in three federal departments, if the Liberals take power after Oct. 22, Lally will be one of the toughest team. Lally would also likely play a key role.

• **Jean Pelletier**, 58, is Chretien's oldest friend in politics. The two went to high school together and were reunited in 1980 when Pelletier became a third of staff. A former

adviser in 1980, she was established herself in one of the party's toughest and most loyal members. She and Paul Martin discussed the election plans. In the 1990s, she would probably play a key role in providing policy advice. Born in Trois-Rivières and fluent in several languages, French and English, she is a chairwoman. Senator Joyce Fairbairn was among the few women in Chretien's inner circle.

• **Irene Maloff**, 45, is best known as one of the founders of the English language advocacy group Alliance Québec. A close friend of Goldstein, she served as a go-between with the Conservatives during the March 1994 constitutional talks that year. He will probably return to his Montreal law practice in the future.

• **Patsy Dunlop**, 41, would almost certainly continue in Chretien's communications adviser. Dunlop comes from a Montreal family with deep Liberal roots, but earned his present position by serving as press secretary to former Toronto mayor Art Eggleton. Dunlop makes a sharp cut with an immensely personable but came up with the job that Campbell is "Midway in a line."

• **John Clark**, 41, has been with Chretien for most of the last four years, serving as press secretary and liaison to the party. In the PMO, he would be Chretien's "gate-

keeper," largely controlling access to him.

• **Gordon Ashworth**, 46, has long roots in the Liberal party, although his relations with Chretien are not particularly close. Ashworth, the party's director in the 1980s, can play a senior role to Chretien's Pearson and 1990 and returned to federal politics in the Liberal representation of the Yes committee in last year's constitutional referendum. Ashworth became a senior adviser. Ashworth may be in charge of dealing with government appointments.

• **Michael Belmont**, 45, a Calgary native, is a partner of Conservative lawyer Bill Fox and Barry Neufeld, the Conservative Group in Ottawa lobbying firm. Although he worked for Paul Martin in the 1990 leadership campaign, he has since been welcomed into Chretien's inner circle as part because the leaders seldom require that they report from now Quebecers. Belmont was the party's chief negotiator with the business community for the leaders' debates. But he will almost certainly remain in his lobbying adviser after Oct. 22.

Chretien's circle, however, is notably large. In fact, a group of largely left and right-leaning and independent from Quebec and Ontario. Campbell is involved. "We are not exactly representative of the country at large," if the Liberals win the election. Chretien will have to hear that in mind, and remember to select sponsors and advice from other sources. His days, since the Liberal campaign has brought him to the brink of power. Getting there has been a battle in itself, deciding what to do with that power will be quite another.

ANDREW WALSH and **MARY JOHNSON** and **BRUCE WAGGAS** in Toronto and K. KATIE JOHNSON in Vancouver, B.C.



Helen: a rare woman in the leader's circle

INDECENT EXPOSURES

Usually, the fact that a political party's campaign ads are released without charge on television screens would be cause for jubilation among members of that party. Not so last week for the Progressive Conservatives, after the launch and almost immediate cancellation of the most brutal personal attack ads on Canadian history. On Oct. 14, the "unsubstantiated" "He has a prize mate?" The question was accompanied by misleading photographs of Liberal leader Jean Chretien that would have been eliminated from a family album, even closed, hard looks, close-ups of his contorted mouth—the result of a left de-

fect. Less than a day later, after an explosion of complaints from voters and many Tory candidates, Prime Minister Jean Campbell cancelled the ads. Almost as striking as the Tories' desperation in running the ads was the split it revealed between the senior ranks of the party and its grassroots. Many candidates saw campaign work as exposed outrage over what they saw as a gross violation of political ethics—and human decency. At Tory headquarters in Ottawa, there were fears that some candidates might resign and that the campaign would disintegrate. Tory hopeful Marc MacMillan of North Bay, Ont., captured the feeling

of many when he blasted the ads as "vicious, mean-spirited, full of animosity." But senior Tories involved were more sanguine. Campbell himself, along with campaign chairman John Toot, reacted as though the ads were merely a flawed campaign tactic. She evoked only after repeated questioning by reporters, even then, she suggested that Canadians had "misinterpreted" the intent of the ads. Although she denied seeing the commercials before they aired, a senior campaign official said that she was aware of their content and had approved of the idea of going after Chretien on the issue of competence. Toot was even less repented. He refused to say the ads were a mistake, and suggested, without apparent embarrassment, that they might now lead

Canadians to take a closer and more critical look at Chretien. "The Liberals' anger was not only by an awareness that the controversy will likely help them," claimed one organizer. "We are recovering quite across the country from people who say they will switch to us because of this." That may be typical campaign hype, but in the wake of the fiasco, one senior Tory left little doubt about where the party's hopes of retaining power now stand. "It's over," said the Tory, adding that the campaign team is now "completely, utterly demoralized." An election day approached, Tories could only wonder how they managed to make an already bad situation even worse.

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On the record

Maclean's puts 10 key questions to each of the five major party leaders

CAMPAIGN '93



Bouchard: injecting user fees

Q Can you say in three or four sentences why you are running?

CHAREST: I was blessed with the privilege of serving this country for 19 years in the cabinet. I think I know this nation quite well, and I think I can do a job better than my competitors. I've never believed in the "homogeneity of communities." There are not enough people in Canada. It is my judgment, who try to keep Canada as a whole rather than turning off Canada as only a grouping of different regions. I want to employ these concepts.

CAMPBELL: I'm running because I have a very clear sense of where I think we need to go as a country. I believe I lead the only party that has a realistic approach to meeting the challenges of the 1990s. We are only going to be able to get there, to change the way we do politics, if we develop a sense of common purpose. I think that is the fundamental

Q In an effort to control health-care costs, Quebec has proposed what it calls a disincentive fee that would apply to people who seek non-emergency treatment in hospitals. Would you agree to that? Or are there other circumstances under which your government would allow a fee for medical services?

CHAREST: We are against user fees. That's our policy.

CAMPBELL: Quebec's proposal is not a user fee in the traditional sense, in other words, a fee that you have to pay to get service. It is intended to discourage the use of hospital emergency wards to provide routine services. The service would still be free if you want to the main emergency service-delivery centre. In my view, that does not run afoul of the principles of the Canada Health Act. And as long as the service was available to all people free, I think it would be a responsible approach.

MANNING: Yes. We would free up the provinces to be funded by their electors as

challenges of leadership. That is what I would like to bring to the process.

MANNING: I believe Canada can be governed better than it has been governed. I really do think we can manage our public money better and that our public policies could be much more in tune with what the public is prepared to accept. To achieve these things requires systemic change.

BOUCHARD: I want to achieve as much strength and power as possible for Quebec. I also want to achieve the main goal of the Bloc: the sovereignty of Quebec. We will work very carefully in the House in the meantime, but we have to explain our goals to the House of Commons and get them ready to accept the idea.

McLAUGHLIN: I and my party are needed more than ever. We are being told by the right-wing parties that the hallmark of a country is the deficit. While I think the deficit is important, the hallmark of a country is the quality of life. I would bring to this job personal experience and understanding of the lives that most Canadians lead.

McLAUGHLIN: We've tried to be very transparent about our deficit targets. If, however, there is a decision that requires a measure of user fees to make sure people don't die, would you say "Sorry, we can't do that because we have a deficit target"? There are many things that may not make it possible.

to how they should raise the revenues for the provincial portion of health-care costs.

BOUCHARD: Obviously, I will not form the government, but I will fight any disincentive fee or any similar measure. Such fees would eventually lead to two classes of people in Canada: those who benefit from a high standard of medicine and the rest.

McLAUGHLIN: User fees are not the answer. I think people will go where they can get the quickest and best care. If there are no expensive ways to do that, make them available. But what is the real purpose of these user fees? Is it to save money, or is it somehow to punish people who go for help?



Campbell: developing a sense of common purpose

Q Would you be prepared to tender your resignation if you are unable to live up to your deficit-reduction targets?

CHAREST: We are elected for a mandate and the people pass judgment when we have an election. We'll work to implement our plan. We can't have an election every three months.

CAMPBELL: I think it would be fair to say that, as long as there were no unprecedented circumstances, [We would want] to make sure that we didn't face a major international crisis or something like that which would throw our targets off. But I think the voters would answer that question for me in the next election.

MANNING: We've pledged that the government itself should weigh in and cut its deficit if it's unable to balance the budget over a business cycle—we've said three years.

BOUCHARD: We will be in the opposition, but we will go to great lengths to force the government to reduce the deficit so we can invest in job creation. It is one thing to talk about jobs, but to stimulate a recovery you really have to invest money in government programs.

McLAUGHLIN: We've tried to be very transparent about our deficit targets. If, however, there is a decision that requires a measure of user fees to make sure people don't die, would you say "Sorry, we can't do that because we have a deficit target"? There are many things that may not make it possible.



Charest: 'I think I know this nation quite well'

Q If you had to choose between reducing the deficit by another \$1 billion or lowering the unemployment rate by half a percentage point, which would you choose?

CHAREST: The problems are never simplistic like that. If you move in one direction you might not achieve the result that you hoped. We always prefer to reduce unemployment. But it is never put in those terms. It is impossible to give a yes or no—you have to put it in the context of the complexity of economic policies.

CAMPBELL: I'm not sure it's a realistic choice because deficit reduction and unemployment are so closely linked. My tendency would be to reduce unemployment because that would generate more revenue, but it's a spurious choice.

MANNING: The question is based on a false premise. It assumes that deficit and unemployment are not connected. It says that they are. That assumption is what's wrong with this debate.

BOUCHARD: You must do anything until you reduce the deficit. If you make the deficit then you can do something about unemployment. You must do one to achieve the other. One is the method, the other is the objective.

McLAUGHLIN: We have to get the unemployment rate down. One of the major contributors to the deficit is the fact that high unemployment results in decreased revenues. You cannot address the deficit unless you reduce unemployment.

Q Should Canada introduce mandatory national exams in high school?

CHAREST: There is no constitutional way to do it. Can we develop an incentive program for all the provinces? It would be desirable, but you cannot impose it. Education is a provincial jurisdiction.

CAMPBELL: The government of Canada does not have the constitutional authority to implement mandatory exams. But we should encourage our work with the provinces to encourage that kind of standardization.

MANNING: We believe in national education standards, but I'm not convinced it has to involve that type of step.

BOUCHARD: Absolutely not. Our education programs must be designed for Quebec. If other provinces go along with it, it's OK. But in Quebec, it should never be done.

McLAUGHLIN: I am not opposed to national exams, but what would they be for? To get into university? To be a watchdog on schools? We would have to look at our objectives.

Q Should criminals who repeatedly commit violent or sexual offences be jailed for life with no parole?

CHAREST: For me, sometimes it becomes a problem not of law, but of enforcement. Sometimes circumstances vary. I know it is a problem that has to be looked into and sentencing is always controversial. There has to be a review all the time.

CAMPBELL: Where there is an ongoing danger to society, yes, that is a reasonable approach.

MANNING: We advocate that violent offenders, particularly sexual offenders, should not be eligible for parole. I guess that amounts to the same thing.

BOUCHARD: My first reaction is to say yes. But my guess is that people working in the rehabilitation programs might have a say in this. We should hear them out.

McLAUGHLIN: To make a sentencing statement is wrong. I do think, however, that the parole of violent or sexual offenders has to be carefully scrutinized.

Q If your policies were adopted, when would the unemployment rate, now 11.2 per cent, fall below 10 per cent?

CHARTER: Nobody can give you a date like I would like to make unemployment as readily as possible. And as long as somebody wants to work, we have to try to get that person a job.

CAMPBELL: I can't make that prediction. But I would think that by the year 2000, we should be looking at an unemployment rate of much less than 10 per cent—in other words, two or three per cent lower.

WARNING: That can't be predicted exactly, by the end of a year and a half or two years, the private sector should get the idea that you're clearly serious about controlling the deficit. The faster you do that, the sooner we will feel the stimulative effect.

BOUCHARD: I am not prepared to set time frames. I think we should do the best we can to create jobs now, to give people hope.

McLAUGHLIN: In our plan, we set a nine-per-cent unemployment rate by 1995. By 1998, it would be down to about 7.5 per cent. It is not something that we like, but we have tried to be realistic.

Q Would you make it illegal for private citizens to own handguns?

CHARTER: It is one of our objectives to make it more difficult. But a constitution will evaluate if it is permissible and under which circumstances.

CAMPBELL: There are some activities—the sport of pistol shooting, for example—where ownership is acceptable. I would like to see possession limited even more than it now is.

WARNING: No, I think that is going too far. What we'd like to do is tighten the provisions for the criminal use of firearms.

BOUCHARD: It would be easy to convince me to do this. Maybe some private citizens with very particular needs would be able to have them.

McLAUGHLIN: The whole handgun legislation has firstly should be reviewed by parliamentary committee.



Warning: an election if the budget isn't balanced



McLaughlin: 'You have to get some legislation done'

Q If Quebecers voted in a referendum for sovereignty and you considered the wording or the process unsatisfactory, would you consider holding a federal referendum?

CHARTER: I don't want to speculate on that. It's too 'ifs' at a now. There will be an election in Quebec. And there will be a referendum. I will work very hard to make sure that the federalists win the next provincial election.

CAMPBELL: That is a hypothetical situation. To ask someone to answer off the top of their head without the chance to reflect involves the issue.

WARNING: I would consider it. But there are steps that could need to be taken first. I believe there's a search for a new federalism going on, actually Quebec itself has to be communicated to Quebec so that they see their options are not the current federation or secession, but rather new federalism versus secession.

BOUCHARD: I would find a federal referendum illegitimate. The only legitimate referendum will be the Quebec referendum. You can trust Quebecers to vote the question in a clear and decisive way. Something like: Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign?

McLAUGHLIN: I would not even speculate on what might happen in Quebec.

Q How soon should constitutional talks resume?

CHARTER: It is not part of my agenda. At this time, the agenda is very clear: it's job creation and economic growth. At this time, it would be counterproductive to reopen the Constitution. When the time will be right for that, we'll proceed. It's not part of our priorities.

CAMPBELL: Only when they have a realistic prospect of success. They would not have it now.

WARNING: As soon as the public is prepared to entertain major discussions, it could be forced by Quebec making some decision with respect to its future. But I think the public—including Quebecers—would tend to defer the discussions rather than accelerate them.

BOUCHARD: They should not refuse because there is nothing to do. Everything has been said, everything has been done. The conclusion is that Canada is important when it comes to modifying its Constitution. That is why many disappointed federalists will vote for the Bloc.

McLAUGHLIN: Anyone who proposed a new round of constitutional talks at this point would be out in their place—quite rightly—by the Canadian electorate. Right now, we have to address the economic issues.

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DEATH AND DEFLANCE



ASSIGNMENT

BARRY CAME IN HAITI

Here a young, nervous and smiling met other members of the police force in Haiti's capital city, armed with up-to-date equipment—the latest in riot-control gear. The weapon and the dress alone suggest that he is a member of the force's widely feared anti-riot unit, notorious men in blood-soaked Port-au-Prince for its brutality. "After" he stands with a remaining view of the Gulf as the small boat of journalists gathered near the blue Toyota Land Cruiser. The vehicle lies on its side on a downtown street not far from the Saint-Cécile church. The car was dented and shattered and bullet holes slash the roof and windshield. There are blood stains on the ground where, moments earlier, the corpse of Haitian judge, Minister Guy Malval had been laid out with those at his bedside and drove "After" the policemen about again. "Go!" Nobody agrees with the nervous young man.

Mark, already nervous by three months of military-sponsored violence, became a much more dangerous place last week in the wake of the murder of the 55-year-old Malval, a U.S.-trained lawyer, former World Bank official and key supporter of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The last dwindling bags of a U.S.-brokered settlement to return Aristide to power and end military rule almost certainly died with the judge. Aristide, it was Malval who would have overseen the restructuring of the Haitian police, a task that was to have been carried out by a 500-member international force led and largely manned by volunteers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. "It may not be the end of the peace process but it certainly looks that way," commented one dispirited diplomat as the news of Malval's death circulated around Port-au-Prince.

Only hours before the justice minister was



Malval's widow beside his body. (left)

gunned down on Oct. 14, in fact, the process that began last July with a UN-organized accord suffered another setback when the advance contingent of Canadian police suddenly pulled out of Haiti. They were recalled when the United Nations pulled the plug on its peacekeeping operation on the grounds that the Haitian military was not living up to its commitment to cooperate. The oil companies, shocked by the headquarters at the World Christopher in the French-held overhauling Port-au-Prince at 7 in the morning. Led by RCMP Sgt. Jean-Jacques Lévesque, they moved quietly in a column of rental vehicles to the airport, where a Canadian Armed Forces Africa band played for them.

Two hours later, the Marines were gone, leaving behind a local population already frightened by the departure earlier in the week of the U.S. navy transport ship Harlan County, carrying about 300 American and Canadian military engineers, construction workers and aides who were prevented from taking by hundreds of armed and angry protesters.

The withdrawal, also, left a powerful team of international human rights observers from the United Nations and the Organization of American States. "For the first time in history, it seems that soldiers left behind the women and children," was the latter comment of one female American observer on the 230-member team, known as the International Civil Mission (CIM).

Faced with the departure of both the soldiers and the police, the mission then began the process of pulling out of Haiti. The 150-observers, scattered in 13 bases outside the capital, returned to Port-au-Prince to leave for the neighboring Dominican Republic. Local radio stations said that two groups that support the Haitian military were willing to let foreign troops leave immediately.

The collapse of the international efforts to restore peace and order left Haiti's long-suffering and impoverished population to face hardships that include the requisitioning of a vital cash embargo, enforced by six American warships that U.S. President Bill Clinton dispatched to the region. The people will also inevitably suffer the depredations of the tight-lipped base of Haitian military officers and their business backers who have been enabled by the country's economic meltdown in 1991. Key since UN special representative Dante Caputo brokered an accord on July 3 that would have sent top military and police officials to the United Nations in the island

on Oct. 30, those soldiers and internationalists have been working to undermine the agreement by means of a cold-blooded campaign of terror.

Malval was not the first to die. Scores have perished in similar incidents in the last three months. Like Malval, most have been murdered by the armed and in their known as "tataches," the most of day descendants of the dreaded Tonton Macoute of Arthur François (Papa Doc) Duvalier's era. Unlike the well-known Malval, however, their bodies have usually been dumped carelessly on the north edge of the city.

With a few exceptions, the precise identity of those behind the recent terror campaign is not clear. Last week, Caputo laid the blame on what he described as "two or three hundred thugs, false nationalists, casuals." Caputo, a former Argentine foreign minister, singled out army commander Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras and Port-au-Prince police chief Lt. Col. Michel François as the two individuals most directly responsible. Of the two, Cédras was a more feared. "He's the spider at the center of the web," said one Haitian businessman after being given uncorroborated assurances that his name would not be used.

Known on Port-au-Prince's streets as "Sweet Mickey," François was in a 34-year-old career army officer. Unlike the majority in the higher-ranking officer class, he is black and comes from poor roots. His father was a sergeant in Papa Doc's presidential guard, later elevated to the rank of major. François's wife and family background account for his popularity among the army's rank and file.

His support from some members of Haiti's business community is based on the fact that many of his backers based in Haiti and members of the business community in Port-au-Prince estimate that François has made between \$17 million and \$25 million since he helped to overthrow Aristide in the 1993 coup. He controls the country's cement industry, owns the only towing business in Port-au-Prince and has helped create new businesses with state-subsidized loans.

His removal from his post in charge of the police and their guard stations is generally agreed to be the key to any long-term solution. But François has made it clear that he will not step down. "I'm Haitian," he declared last week in one of his rare public pronouncements. "I have chosen to remain and die in my country." It may be a boast—but then again, it may not. □

PEACEMAKERS FREED

Several millionaires freed two captured members of the UN peacekeeping force in what was called a peace protest. President Bill Clinton said that "no deals" were made for the release of U.S. helicopter pilot Michael Durant and Nigerian soldier Umar Shamsi. But he expressed willingness to find a diplomatic solution to the violent showdown with Arafat, who is wanted for the deaths of 38 Palestinian peacekeepers.

PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY

An historic PLO-Israel peace agreement came into effect on Oct. 23, representatives from the two sides met in Egypt to make detailed provisions for Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. Israel's new the so-called Gaza-Jericho Plan as a test of how Palestinian self-exercise autonomy. For Palestinian, it provides quick, though limited, empowerment.

QUALITY VIDEOS

A South African Supreme Court judge sentenced two right-wing whites to death for the murder last April of Chris Hani, the black leader of the South African Communist Party. Police lieutenant James Mafu, 38, shot Hani with a gun provided by the far-right Conservative Party politician. Clive Derby-Lewis, 57. The court awarded a third defendant, Derby-Lewis's wife, Gaye, 54.

THAT'S AHOSE

Haitian Defense Minister Pierre Fobbe suspended Gen. François Mouton after Mouton's former mistress charged that he was one of 18 men of officers plotting to stage an army coup next spring. Mouton denied the allegation and has accused his mistress of stealing \$825,000 from him.

PAPANDREOU RETURNS

Andreas Papandreu, prime minister of Greece from 1981 to 1989 until scandals drove him from office, has returned to power when his Socialist party was 321 seats in the 300-seat parliament.

THE 'TUFFIE' BONERS

Venezuelan police arrested 17 suspects in connection with an explanation that revived Caracas last summer. Police said that "tuffies" plotted the bomb to panic financial markets and won profits by buying shares at depressed prices.



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RUSSIA

Crime and punishment

Street crime dropped dramatically in Moscow last year, but the police of that and other Russian cities are still not out of the woods. These two seemingly unrelated developments followed from a single cause last week: Russia's President Boris Yeltsin's lightning grip on the capital. Fresh from his crushing military victory on Oct. 4 over conservative opponents occupying parliament, Yeltsin asked local authorities to use state-of-emergency powers to deal with another problem: crime. Moscow police rounded up thousands of Georgians, Azeris and Armenians—largely blamed for crime—by using Russia's for the capital's rising crime rates. Calling the detainees "illegal residents" officials bulldozed their cars into mass and plain housing units in their Caucasus hometowns. While authorities already feared that the crackdown was potentially directed against non-Russians, it swept up even Caucasians who claimed to have saved Moscow's railway ports. And among the so-called deportees were many Russians who supply local markets with southern produce. That quickly caused food shortages and sent prices skyrocketing. Grievous for residents, tripled in cost to about 2,000 rubles (\$2.75) per kilogram—about 13 per cent of the average Moscow's weekly salary.

Kolotov rejected suggestions that the anti-crime campaign was specifically directed against Caucasians. "A criminal is a criminal, no matter what his nationality," he said. He and other police spokesmen said that the victims were part of Operation Signal, a crackdown on central Russia that overlapped with the state of emergency in Moscow and has resulted in the detention, they said, of more than 6,000 known criminals. According to Kolotov, another 5,000 people who could not prove their right to live in Moscow had been forcibly placed in hotels and places bonded for the Caucasians and Central Asians residents. He estimated that the crackdown had prompted another 10,000 people to leave "voluntarily." Their answer, according to police official Galka Odnoklasova: "They feel guilty for their wrongdoing and have decided to escape from the city."

To be sure, many Muscovites share her views. They disparagingly refer to Chechens, Georgians and other ethnic minorities from the turbulent regions along Russia's southern border as "chests" or "chests" and regard them as a threat to their safety. For example, in dangerous districts (for example, in dangerous districts) St. Petersburg, a Moscow traffic police spokesman: "Most of the people from the Caucasians are thieves and robbers. They commit thousands of the crimes in the city." Added the Russian news agency, the Tass: "Muscovites are greatly satisfied with the fact that the so-called Caucasian threat, who are widely believed to be the main source of crime in Moscow, have been eradicated from the capital."

In reality, many Georgians, Armenians and Azeris, some of them refugees from wars in their homelands, others victims of the city's food markets, related stories of robberies and burglaries at the hands of police. At least one Moscow's Chertkov station, which is not only one of the city's two largest stations, but also one of the city's two largest stations, reported that the police had taken more than 100 people who were caught in the city's streets. "The police took more of them away who were caught in the city's streets," said one of the police officers who were caught in the city's streets. "The police took more of them away who were caught in the city's streets."

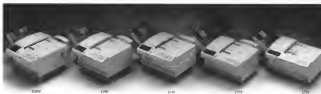
**Muscovites
applaud as
the police
get tough**

For the former police, Lashkov also reported for volunteer crime fighters, and almost 40,000 residents turned out to assist the 12,000 soldiers and police patrolling the city. Galka Odnoklasova credited this military force for what he said was a 10-per-cent drop in Moscow crime since the state of emergency was imposed. And he predicted that police would retain their special powers to stop search and apprehend people as well even if the state of emergency ended as scheduled on Oct. 15.

MALCOLM G. RAY in Moscow

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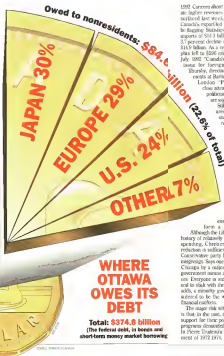
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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
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ELECTION APPROACHES



They are not registered to vote in the approaching federal election. Neither do they reside in Canada or directly own Canadian assets. But Canada has a critical new political constituency—foreign creditors who are owed about

\$84.6 billion by Ottawa. Any government that neglects the interests of that group does so at its peril. By clamping their Canadian debt holdings, foreign creditors can harm down the Canadian dollar and push up domestic interest rates. Indeed the cloud of nervous offshore investors has already been acutely felt in Canadian markets over the past two months. Until the Liberal party recently gained (and is now losing) in public opinion polls, uncertainty about the outcome of the election depressed the Canadian dollar in currency markets. From early August, the dollar depreciated by 4.2 per cent and the interest rate spread between Canadian and U.S. bonds widened significantly, making it more costly for Canada to compete for global capital. External pressure was also apparent following remarks by Liberal Leader Jean Chretien about his plans to review the role of the Bank of Canada and its governor, John Crow. That notion was quickly dropped after a flurry of negative foreign commentary. "The matter was the outcome of the election, the deficit ensures that no party [any more] is going to get away," says Martin Shain, a vice-president of Merrill Lynch Inc. in New York City.

The announcement last week that Ottawa's revenues for the first five months of the year lagged behind those recorded a year earlier heightened the foreign scrutiny of Canada's volatile political landscape. Despite reduced spending levels, the deficit in federal government operations from April 1 to Aug. 31 was \$18.6 billion, up 62 billion from the same period in



1992. Concern about Ottawa's ability to generate higher revenues to repay the deficit also surfaced last week, along with signs that Canada's reported economic recovery may be lagging. Statistics Canada reported revised exports at \$14.3 billion and a 247 million or 3.7 percent decline in exports for August to \$14.9 billion. As a result, Canada's trade surplus fell to \$20 million—the lowest since July 1992. "Canada's deficit is the number 1 issue for foreign money," notes Paul Blumhry, director of fixed income investments at Baring Asset Management in London. "People are paying very close attention to it and to what the politicians—on the numbers—are saying."

Still, the higher deficit figures caused relatively little stir and the Canadian dollar remained strong enough for the Bank of Canada to lower its benchmark interest rate to 4.85 per cent, against 4.95 per cent. According to observers, this rate is partly attributable to the fact that after weeks of deflation wage negotiators, a poll released by Angus Reid on Oct. 4 finally showed that the Liberal party had enough popular support to form a majority government.

Although the Liberal party is dogged by a history of relatively aggressive public-sector spending, Chretien's emphasis on deficit reduction is sufficiently close to the existing Conservative party's goal to quell any serious wage growth. Says one currency trader based in Chicago by a major chartered bank, "New government means new policy and new players. Everyone is anxious to avoid surprises and to stick with the existing script." But, he adds, a minority government is "always considered to be the worst-case scenario" by financial markets.

The major risk with minority governments is that in the past, they have tended to buy support for their policies with spending on programs considered by their political allies in Pierre Trudeau's Liberal minority government of 1977-1979, for one. Ottawa would

look significant spending to sustain the support of the New Democrats. Party As a result, according to Robert Bellver, a Canadian history professor at the University of Toronto, that period was "absolutely disastrous for economic policy." Asia Lantz, an economist with Salomon Brothers Inc. in New York City, notes that another concern is that minority governments can be short-lived and economic policy disrupted by backroom deals. Lantz adds that the alliances formed by a minority government are also critical. "If the two allied parties are on the same wavelength ideologically, the risks do diminish somewhat," she says.

For rising foreign investors, the recent fragmentation of the Canadian political scene, marked by the emergence of strong alternative contenders in the Reform Party of Canada and the Bloc Quebecois, has complicated the task of predicting the election outcome. But the Canadian currency trader noted that most foreign money managers are already accustomed to higher party politics in their own markets. Because of the Reform party's strong anti-deficit stance, it has readily found favor with foreign investors. The Reform party also has the advantage of a pro-reform, business-friendly stance. Prime Minister Mulroney is widely viewed outside Canada as a northern version of Ron Perot. Perot managed to impose a deficit reduction agenda on the Democratic party in the 1990 U.S. election without actually making significant political gains. Says Merrill Lynch's Blumhry, "American investors in particular relate to the Reform theme."

The Bloc Quebecois, however, is more of an enigma to foreign observers. It is also a cause of concern, according to Blumhry's Blumhry, because it needs to last for a constitutional crisis and reminds investors that "Canadian federalism may be fragile." "The breaking of Canada's federal structure is still a worry out there," he says. "That kind of nagging doubt can always lead to volatility."

One of the key components in projecting a positive image—especially in the eyes of European investors—is the constant hand of John Crow at the Bank of Canada. "Foreign currency speculators have sought refuge over the past year and money managers now place an especially high premium on stability. Dodge was our bank, executive vice president of investment in bank Amos Blyth says. "Many central banks are losing control of their markets to speculators. Once you yield that grip, it is hard to recover it," he adds. "There is no nation in the currency market any more." For his part, Crow has a solid reputation based on his consistent anti-inflation policy and his defiance of the Canadian dollar's value in the market. And with Canada's creditors raising a storm eye over his mandate, Crow can take to task on strong support—whatever the election outcome.

DEBORAH MURPHY

SALARY DISCLOSURE RULES

Executives of publicly traded companies in Ontario will have to reveal their individual salaries under resolutions approved by provincial Finance Minister Floyd Lauson. The new rules provide that in the United States, where companies whose shares are traded publicly must disclose the salaries of the top five executives. Under Ontario's new rules, executives must now reveal details of bonuses, stock options and other perks.

RETAIL REINFORCEMENT

Woolworth Corp. of New York City will close or reorganize 57 of its stores in North America. The company said that the restructuring effort at Woolworth Inc. of 6,000 jobs in the United States and 3,000 in Canada—about one per cent of its total workforce. Statistics Canada reported that department store sales in August, at \$273.5 million across the country, were down by 6.4 per cent compared with August, 1992.

LAWDAIN'S NEW CIO

James Bullock, former president and chief executive officer of Cadillac Fairview Corp., the Toronto-based real estate developer, is the new president and chief executive officer of Lawdaire Inc. of Burlington, Ont. A director of Lawdaire, he replaces Donald Jackson, who recently resigned over differences about the company's strategic direction.

PWA SCORES A POINT

PWA Corp. of Calgary, which operates the financially troubled Canadian Airlines, gained a legal point in its struggle against divestiture by rival Air Canada in a proposed merger deal between Canadian and American Airlines. The PWA deal with the federal Government of Canada has the authority to release PWA from its contract with the Gemini Group reservation system, which is shared by Air Canada and Canadian. The Supreme Court ruling means that the federal, scheduled to begin hearings on Nov. 15, may rescind the ruling by ordering Crown or negotiating a cash settlement. Under the proposed PWA-AME deal, Canadian must join AME's Sabre reservation system—a plan that has prompted Gemini to sue PWA for \$1 billion.



BUSINESS

The return of the big deal in mergers

The deals ended briefly in the 1980s—corporate raiders in Italian suits, punk-band wannabes bring led off to jail, and giant, once-invincible companies being bought and broken up. Certainly the numbers—over \$40 billion in mergers and takeovers in little more than a month in New York City and Toronto—would seem to indicate that big deals are back in fashion on Wall Street and Bay Street. But analysts say that a series of such corporate deals in the past year, including the \$37 billion merger between Bell Atlantic Corp. and Tele-Communications Inc. (TCI) announced in New York last week, and the union of two Canadian companies to create a \$24-billion real estate giant in Toronto, were motivated more by resource forces and technological change than financial maneuvering. But now that the takeover boom is gathering momentum, some industry analysts warn that the wheeling and dealing could get out of hand again.

North American companies join forces to gain growth and financial power



TCI president John Malone demonstrates an interactive television system (above)

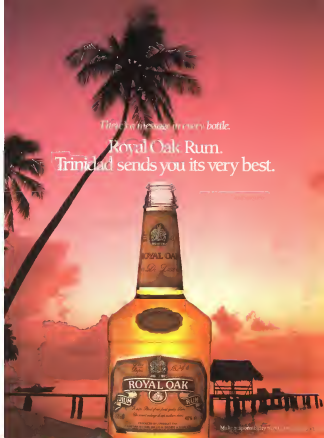
is a pure fact—a lot of bang for the buck. But, however, the current flurry of takeovers appears to be based more on companies seeking cooperative advantages and quick growth by joining forces, rather than

for the loans they also been encouraged by a combination of the low cost of borrowing, money to fund the deals, enabled corporate gains, shrinking subsidiaries and growth companies on the growth for new actions. According to the Toronto Financial support and advisory firm Credit & Co. Inc., 435 deals worth \$25.5 billion have been announced in Canada so far this year—just shy of the record of 500.3 billion in the first nine months of 1985. But in contrast with the 1980s, much of the new money and acquisition boom on Bay Street—and Wall Street—is being propelled by action, rather than buyers. Many of the biggest deals involve huge corpora-

ties selling off subsidiaries of their businesses in new cash. Among them, bankrupted Northern Telecom Ltd. which agreed to sell its British underwater telephone cable division, STC Submarine Systems to Alcatel Cable SA of France in July for \$1.1 billion. As well, in February, the troubled Hoeft-Edger group sold its controlling stake in lower John Labat Ltd. and former giant MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. for about \$1 billion to a consortium of Bay Street brokerage firms. Because of the glut of sellers, some of those big deals degenerated into an astronomical 1986-style takeover battle. Declared one investment banker: "There are so many willing sellers out there, you don't need to go hostile."

In the United States, the value of mergers and acquisitions has reached \$287 billion so far this year and is expected to eclipse the \$300 billion record set by Wall Street in 1986. Analysts said that the mergers in this country are largely being driven by a slow economy, which is forcing companies to become more efficient—even if that means acquiring greater market share and expertise by merging a rival. As well, the pressure to enter strategic partnerships is intense in such sectors as communications. Major telephone and cable television firms are jockeying for position as the so-called electronic highway of the future. Over the next decade, telecommunications and cable firms will be able to deliver a wide variety of electronic signals to every home, giving consumers access to a wide array of entertainment and information services on their computers and televisions.

Despite the high stakes and high volume of recent transactions, the strategies, financing, and even the style of negotiations behind the mergers in Canada and the United States differ greatly from the past decade. In the 1980s, financial engineers like Donald Barr Ross (Lazard's Inc.) took bold, aggressive Michael Milken, became the most powerful man on Wall Street. Blinded by money he raved through high-yield, high-risk securi-



ture—so-called junk bonds—corporate raiders managed to take over dozens of huge companies. Once in control, the firms were either broken up and sold to help pay down the massive debts that were piled up to finance the deals. And Canadian real estate developer Robert Campeau, who borrowed \$15 billion to acquire the Allied and Federal oil department store chains in an attempt to become the biggest retailer in his own class, came to symbolize just only the era's turbulent rise—but also its sudden collapse.

Now, however, a new (cautious) style of takeover has emerged. In fact, analysts say that many investment houses have eliminated their once-aggressive mergers and acquisitions teams altogether, or folded them into more conventional corporate finance departments. Even the corporate executives involved in some of the biggest deals are taking a more cooperative approach. In the TCI/Bell Atlantic case, John Malone, TCI's president, who experts say is one of the toughest and brightest executives in America, will become vice-chairman of Bell Atlantic. In the 1980s, by contrast, victors in takeover battles usually cleared out the executive offices of the companies that they acquired as quickly as possible.

Above all, mergers are now being more conservatively financed than five years ago. Independent Toronto investment banker Andrew Stiles notes that the current stock market is allowing companies to finance transac-

tions by issuing shares instead of securing new debt. And when they do have to borrow, the loans are offering money at low rates for deals with a sound financial basis. Says Seitzman, "The action is being driven by guys who have deep pockets, both in terms of cash and stocks. And they are able to use their stocks to finance the deals."

The slow growth of the economy is also helping companies to the altar. Will Street, vice-president, Banker Gray Winch-Petrie, president of Wyper Porter & Co. Inc., says this is a congenial time for slow economy and sluggish earnings. Firms are trying to raise profits by merging or taking over firms with better production or distribution systems.

That strategy has underpinned a number of recent mergers in the telecommunications sector. The trend began in August when AT&T of New York acquired McCaw Cellular Communications Inc. in a \$12.7 billion deal. McCaw is the largest cellular telephone company in the United States and AT&T dominates the long-distance telephone service market. Their deal was quickly followed by a takeover battle for Panamsat Communications Inc.—the entertainment and publishing giant. In September, Viacom Inc. a major cable television supplier, offered \$13 billion for Panamsat. Shortly after, UVC Network Inc., a first-entrance basic television shopping network and other specialized cable networks, offered \$12.5 billion for the firm. By purchasing Panamsat, QVC would

have access to top-quality entertainment for cable distribution.

Last week's merger of Bell Atlantic Corp. and TCI was perfectly timed, by the need to form a strategic alliance. In fact, the combined company would offer cable and telephone services to 50 per cent of the 130 largest metropolitan areas in the United States. "We think this is the perfect international marriage," said Bell Atlantic's Smith at a news conference in Washington. "The combination will be a model for communication companies in the next century."

Furthermore, the Bell Atlantic giant has potential for continued growth. TCI already owns Liberty Media Corp., while its own holds 25 per cent of QVC Network Inc. Analysts suggest that the Bell Atlantic merger will create an \$11.8 billion net at Panamsat. And the prospect of AT&T dominating the future of interactive television could trigger yet another round of mergers in the telecommunications industry.

The need to form such new alliances in a fiercely competitive industry and a customer's desire to shed a weak domain were both factors in the merger in Toronto last week between the Canada Trust (then of 219 real estate offices and Canadian-based Coldwell Banker Corp.'s 143 Canadian offices.



Compco: a symbol of the takeover, 1990s-style

The new company will be called Coldwell Banker Affiliates of Canada Inc. With about \$5 billion in annual sales, it will be the second-largest chain in Canada after Her/Mar Ltd. CFI Financial Services Inc., Canada Trust's parent company, lost money in the real estate brokerage business in 1991 and 1992, largely be-

cause it still owns and services 113 Canada Trust offices, whereas most of its competitors are made up of independent franchisees. As part of last week's deal, CFI Financial will sell those 113 offices to individual real estate agents.

So for this year, however, the bank's share of the mergers and acquisitions in Canada has occurred in the oil and gas industry—a total of \$1.1 billion worth up \$1.2 billion from the same period in 1992. And most of these deals have been between so-called junior oil and gas companies—fast-growing, small and mostly privately owned. The stampede of acquisitions in the stock market this year has also

forced those companies to move quick cash for acquisitions by selling stock rather than going into debt by selling junk bonds or borrowing from banks. In one deal, Chicago-based Tarragon Oil & Gas Ltd. announced on May 18 that it had agreed to buy Olyk Exploration Ltd., also based in Calgary, for

\$122 million. That more doubled the size of the six-year-old company in one fell swoop. The next day a Tarragon issue of \$85 million worth of new stock to help finance the deal was snapped up by investment dealers within a few hours. "If you put a hot stock market together with a good deal it's a very good deal," said Raymond Chen, Tarragon's vice-president of finance. He added, "I don't think our appetite now is totally satisfied."

Like Tarragon's purchase of Olyk, most of the recent mergers and acquisitions in the oil and gas industry, and elsewhere, have been among competitors in the same business seeking overseas alliances. Scott Miller, chairman, a senior partner with the Toronto-based accounting and management consulting firm Ernst & Young who specializes in mergers and acquisitions, "It's not like it was in the 1980s, when financial players would say, 'We can get you \$1 billion in the junk bond market, so why not buy these guys?'" Miller added that, so far, buyers and sellers are agreeing on more realistic prices for companies compared with the hugely inflated amounts paid in some deals in the 1980s. "Back then, it didn't matter what you paid because many people assumed that the next sucker was going to buy it," Jensen said jokingly. Today the "sucker" may be gone, but the appetite to make money is as strong as ever.

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Kim Campbell's descent into a political hell

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As the days drop away and the campaign narrows down to deciding whether Lucien Bochehad at Premier Manning will lead Her Majesty's Disloyal Opposition, the mounting story emerging from this astounding election is Kim Campbell's fall from grace.

She went into the campaign with a commanding lead in the public-opinion polls. In fact, she is running a poor fourth in terms of likely number of seats, facing defeat in her home province and trouble in her own riding. Her slide has been blamed on the banality of the Prime Minister's speech, on having recruited anti-vote advisers, and on being forced to seek votes in a time of fiscal conservatism. These are valid points, but they don't add up to the fact that her run for office has been the clumsiest effort since Joe Clark's comic trip around the world. He subsequently made it, she went even closer.

Her descent to the political hell of losing her party backwards from holding power to becoming a parliamentary nimp, has nearly been due to her intransigence on the campaign trail. The self-described wench I interviewed earlier this year was sparkling with wit and personal electricity. You could light a small city with her. This is in no small contrast to the programmed, petulant puppet who has been on show across the headlines for the past few weeks. Her carnival school-marmish diaphanous and debilitated demeanor wouldn't earn her admission to a Truman bar dance, much less light her way to 24 Sussex Drive.

The confounding mystery of her downfall is why Campbell allowed it to happen. It was all so unnecessary. For example, her biggest problem has been the absence of positive policies. Not a workable platform was placed at her disposal by the departing prime minister. Before he left office, Mulroney had a three-page speech written for a possible new session of Parliament that was based on position papers from key government departments.

Her campaign has been the clumsiest since

Joe Clark's comic trip around the world.

He made it; she won't even come close.

The proposed measures were carefully crafted to avoid any negative impact on the federal treasury. The acceptance of the new proposals was a deliberate plan to drop most floating federally funded social welfare measures and to replace them with a complicated guaranteed annual wage package. By using negative income tax terms first, initially, Canada's income fell below a predetermined level would receive funds from Ottawa, those above the line would pay. While the transition away from universality to such a new approach would be politically difficult, it would eventually transfer more funds to those who need the most help.

At the beginning of September, Campbell had the highest approval rating of any Canadian political leader in three decades. After that, it was downhill all the way. She set the delectable tone of the campaign on the day she called the election by running about a jobless economic recovery and holding out little hope of restoring macroeconomy to the 1980s. (Paradoxically, the federal Finance department issued a life-waste study the same day predicting that the number of Canadian jobs will drop substantially in the last half of the decade.) On the last day of the actual

campaign, speaking in Perth, Ont., she reiterated her pessimistic forecast, and the next morning she acknowledged that she was planning to cut social programs, but by not providing details made the whole welfare act appear to be up for grabs.

At that point, she started to lead with her accompanying media corps, withdrawing in to a noncommunicative caucus and telling any reporter who asked why she wasn't closing Canada's news hope that he needed a hearing aid. Her credibility kept crumbling. She went on endlessly about the deficit being a time, barely also vowed to defend, but by simultaneously pledging not to increase taxes or spending any social program cuts, her promises rang hollow.

What she was telling voters, in effect, was, "Trust me," and that's the one thing Canadians in this troubled situation of 1990 are not prepared to do.

In addition to projecting no vision of the future (except the gloomy notion that nothing would improve), Campbell made another mistake by the campaign's third week in spreading most of her stage time attacking Jean Charest's job-creation proposals. This helped switch public attention and eventually the election's focus to the Liberals.

But Campbell's greatest single gaffe occurred at St. Denis, Que., when she tried to deflect questions about her attitudes of reorganizing social programs by pointing out that an election campaign was no time "to get involved in very, very serious matters." Then, just to make sure that her cautious any statement would be noticed, she went on to emphasize that elections are "the worst possible time to have that kind of dialogue because it takes longer than 47 days to tackle an issue that's that serious."

And so it went. It was repeatedly symbolic that when she climbed onto an aircraft flight simulator in a Montreal factory, Campbell said to herself "I had enough to be overboard, I haven't crashed yet, but I have no idea when I'm going."

At the end of the campaign, she was haunted by her party's slogan "It's time"—the silliest motto since the 1972 election, when Pierre Trudeau found himself trying to win votes under the equally meaningless banner that proclaimed "The land is strong."

Campbell is intelligent, but not shrewd. She seems also to be all but unconscious of how sophisticated so-called ordinary voters have become. Most important of all, browse the only paper the Progressive Conservative Party in 1990, she has little inside knowledge at how the "Tory organization works. She commends little loyalty and has yet to earn the right to be followed.

It was in Kitchener, B.C., that Kim Campbell's antagonism made the campaign most prominent and painful. She had been asked to play on its prime minister, because "I'd get thrown out of office. I'm not sure I can get a job."

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A clash of cultures

The Philadelphia Phillies' valiant march to the World Series caught a few of the city's many skeptics off guard last week. That is understandable: over the years, the Phillies have done little to inspire confidence, fluctuating between mediocrity and miserably since their last Series appearance a decade ago. And even though the Phils won the National League East last year, winning this season they were essentially the same scrappy bunch that finished third last year ago. As a result, few people predicted that the Phillies would defeat the powerhouse Atlanta Braves in last week's National League Championship Series. Backing on failure, a local Hyatt hotel even sold rooms pre-booked by the Toronto Blue Jays in anticipation of a World Series. With conventions and baseball fans jamming the city's hotels, the Jays were forced to find accommodation solely an hour from Veterans Stadium. "I guess the Hyatt didn't think the Phillies would win," gumbled one Toronto official.



The Jays' Roberto Alvarez: Kruk (below): tough to repeat

Toronto the Good meets Philadelphia's Nasty Boys

level as well as figurative truth. Among their poster boys are John Kruk, an unkempt first baseman who looks like he needs a shower, a shoe, a haircut and a diet, and relief pitcher Mitch Williams, apparently delirious "The Wild Thing." Just the contrast between the two first basemen, Kruk and Olmedo, explains why many observers view this Series as a clash of cultures. "It is the only opponent being treated to the press by the best-looking guy in class," said Phillies pitcher Larry Anderson.

The Jays, though favored in the Series, have not always looked like show-boats this year. Starting the season, their hopes were pinned on an ailing ace, starting pitcher and young player into a roster depleted by 12 off-season departures. Manager Cito Gaston admitted in spring training that the Jays had "a few things to sort out" before they could win. Team president Paul Bestgen was more succinct. "We'll go as far as our pitching will let us," he said. For most of the season, an explosive offense kept them in first place, and a September pitching surge enabled them to pull away from New York and Baltimore and win the division.

That momentum carried into the American League championship where the Jays disposed of the Chicago White Sox in six games. The excitement of the season were reflected in the post-playoff celebration. While the 1992 team labored under the grueling weight of consecutive disappointments, this year's Jays were considered underdogs against Chicago. The joy of victory was as thick as the champagne spray. "Last year was business, but this year we are going to enjoy it—we're going to have some fun," Cito bellowed over the sounds of the victory-drumming horns in Chicago's new Comiskey Park. Then, raising a bottle, he added, "And right now I'm going to have some fun."

No matter what happens against Toronto, the Phillies say that they are not surprised by their critic-defying success. They attribute last year's basement-dwelling finish to a plague of key injuries, especially

For those who believe that opposites attract, this is a World Series made in heaven. It is Toronto the Good against the Bad Boys. The Blue Jays' image is scrubbed and efficient, as epitomized by such stars as outfielder Joe Carter and first baseman John Olmedo—clean batters on and off the field. For the Phillies, meanwhile, the familiar phrase "wasting only" is a



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to the pitching staff. And this year, with the team healthy and supplemented by a few well-chosen free agents, they rolled in as our by-the-book best and held off a big challenge by the gritty Montreal Expos. In the playoffs against the tatemalcalba Braves, they blew seven games, made throwing errors and misplayed. They were calm, sophisticated and poised. But again they won, proving that neither looks nor statistics tell the whole story. At spring training in Dunedin, the Jays are plenty of the Phillies, based in neighbouring Clearwater. And Gaudin suggested that just the Phillies would win the division if they stayed healthy. "We played down all spring, and even with our best nine players on the field, we had trouble with them," he roared last week. "They don't mind getting dirty; they play hard and they play hurt."

According to at least one series participant, the Phillies had long gone in strictly as winners. "I think the long-gone stigma is just about broken," said Jays third-base coach Nick Leyba, a former Phillies manager, as the Jays went through pregame workouts. "I mean, even I can call second baseman Mickey Morandini is trying to grow a beard." Beneath the undergrowth the Phillies are enormously talented. Lenny Dykstra, the very antithesis of the Jays' quiet-like Devon White in center field, is a tobacco-chewing fireplug who keeps the Philly offense. Darryl Strawberry, handsome enough to make up for the rest of the team, is a capable catcher with a powerful bat. Phillies Cut, Schilling, Tony Mullen, Denny Jacobson and Tommy Greene form a solid starting rotation. And the Philly bench possesses almost part-time players who provided timely hits and defensive plays to spark the victory over Atlanta.

This week, the Blue Jays stand poised to do something that is increasingly difficult in baseball—win back-to-back world championships. Free agency and escalating salaries have made it problematic even for well-heeled organizations to keep strong teams together. Toronto, however, has drawn a blueprint for success in modern-day baseball, balancing its roster through over-the-hill developments, trades and periodic free-agent acquisitions. "You've got to give your best players [general managers] Pat Gillick and Paul Bevan," said Cates, "because they put together a quality batch of guys as this ball club." In the last five years, this formula has produced a World Series title, two American League pennants and four division titles. And the club wants more. "We not only use a second time when you are willing to go through all the pain and hard work to do it again," Gaudin said after beating Chicago. Looking out at his championship-played players, he added: "These guys are willing to do that."

A case of divided loyalties

BY DICK LEVIN

It is absolutely not true that Philadelphia's two heavily booed and cheered players, I know. I say it's true that they once booted the Easter Bunny, and it is indisputable that they boo their sports teams and especially the Phillies. Richie Allen, the starting pitcher of the Year in 1964? Booooo! Mike Schmidt, maybe the greatest third baseman ever? Schmitt, you bum! This is not the sort of mild, apocryphal boogie with which Toronto fans managed to do-

to root for in the improbable World Series of 1993? Following one team in each league has always seemed convenient, sure, in the knowledge that the two are unlikely to meet in anything but a Grapefruit League game. How could they and the world keep burning? What are the odds? If that sounds like postmodernism, remember I come from a place with a civic psyche about as twisted as one of its Madison Park soft pretzels. Its most precious historic treasure, the Liberty Bell, has a crack in it. Its art museum is less famous for its art than for Sylvester Stallone running up its steps, and its police once flushed out some suburban outlets by burning down two city blocks.

And then there were the Phils-up Phils. This was the long-lovely club that, in helpful 1994, took a 66-game budge into the season's final 72 games and managed to blow it, finishing in a shattering tie for second and leaving every young believer screaming for it. What sort of crazy world was this, and what did it have against Philadelphia? Years passed. The demons haunted. And then came 1996—and success. In the end, as a fired Tug McGraw struck out Kansas City's Willie Wilson to seal the Phillies' first World Series triumph in their 94-year history, there was a sustained roar of redemption high in the bleachers, and a strange sense of unreality—something Toronto fans appreciated last year when Series supremacy miraculously came to Canada.

Maybe that was part of the Jays' appeal, at first, an upstart challenging the big boys; then, stupendous collapses in the 1985 playoffs and the 1987 regular season. To a Philadelphia fan, this was treason. And while it has been some adjustment, allowing champions, however rich and swaggering they have become, has not been altogether unpleasant.

Which leads back to the problem of who to root for. One idea, if the Philadelphia's out of selective support, it is, for instance, highly possible—even desirable—to cheer the Jays while booing Rocky Henderson. In theory, then, it should be possible to root for some Phils, and some Jays, knowing that a lot from a city of fans has somehow been transported to baseball's fair. No, either way I was. That thought, so warm and cordial, lasts about five seconds before the next line hits, and less.

So much for theory. Here is the central fact: in baseball if not in love, fan loyalty—no absence—makes the heart grow fonder. Go Jays.



Schmidt, tickets from the World Series that was (1996) and they might have been (1996) success

commit the Jays' George Bell and Kelly Gruber a few years back. This is Philly booing, a full-throated out of him that stems not only from years of failure for Philly, in the local headline-writers' league but from some deeper, darker shades of civic frustration. And so, when the team is actually winning—when the red-clad boys are colorful and fun and in no way deserving of the fans' collective disdain—is the responsibility of all Philadelphiaans, whatever they have learned, to cheer like a crowd in a Rocky movie.

And that is my problem. Who is a Philadelphia fan? Philadelphia, being so in Toronto for the past eight years, supposed



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SCIENCE

Genes and genius

Vancouver's Michael Smith wins a Nobel Prize

He has the face of a Lancashire peasant: round and wrinkled, a full-fledged, with protruding silver hair and grey eyes that turn into merry half-moons when he smiles. Last week, Vancouver biochemist Michael Smith was doing a lot of grinning. Several hours after his bedside table had awakened him to the news that the Royal Swedish Academy had awarded him this year's Nobel Prize in

physiology or medicine, a leading academic journal based in Cambridge, Mass., "the editors were a back—they said that technologically it was not of general interest."

Smith, 46, of Los Angeles, Calif., was honored for inventing a way to rapidly duplicate small fragments of DNA. His work was wholly separate from that of Smith, who gets credit for contributing an essential tool to the arsenal of genetic research. By allowing experi-



DAVID J. PHILLIPS

Chemistry partly to American researcher Kary Mullis and himself, as cited by Smith, R.I., as "a Nobel Prize." "The first thing that passed my lips today was a glass of champagne."

The champagne has been a long time coming. The discovery that prompted the Swedish academy to confer its honor on the Canadian chemist was made more than a decade ago. Between 1977 and 1982, Smith and colleagues at the University of British Columbia devised a way to change the genetic code in individual segments of DNA. (Genes are the code that directs the body's function.) But the discovery made little immediate impact. In fact, Smith recalls, when he first submitted a report on his work for

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consider to reject shared genetic codes from living cells, Smith's technique—now properly known as "site-specific mutagenesis"—enables them to mimic the random trial-and-error process of evolution with a degree of control beyond anything known in nature. "It is a very powerful technology," observes Charles Gray, academic affairs manager of ZymoGenetics Inc., a Seattle-based company—co-founded by Smith—that developed his methods in the development of a strain of yeast implanted with the human gene for production of insulin. George Hunter, executive director of the British Columbia Biotechnology Alliance, an association of 180 businesses and academic researchers in that province,

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SCIENCE

oids. "The information he developed is fundamental to biotechnology in the same way that a laser is fundamental to building a house."

Smith's own assessment of his accomplishment is more modest. "It wasn't profound," he insists. "We were just in a position to do a better job of what it might be done and was important." Calling his technique no more than a "less clumsy" alternative to the natural mutation that man has long exploited to improve animal breeds and develop new plant strains, Smith seems to reflect the preoccupations of his parents, an English market gardener married to a bookkeeper. The working-class couple were unable to afford their son's education, but accomplished that task, winning scholarships at first to private school in his native Bedford and then to Manchester University. After earning a doctorate in chemistry there, Smith moved to Vancouver in 1958, joining the faculty of the University of British Columbia.

For all the genetics in Smith's account, though, there appears not to be much science in his own genes. None of the Nobel winner's three children has followed in his scientific footsteps: one son is a ski instructor, another son is a concert cook, and Smith's daughter is a sales agent for winter gear vacations. Smith and his wife separated in 1982. While colleagues say that he has workaholic habits, the chemist willingly leaves the lab to pursue his passions for fishing, skiing and ocean sailing. Last year, he posed casually on a 74-foot catamaran for a crossing of the Atlantic, reluctantly giving up the Azores in order to attend a science conference. Says prominent biologist Hal D. Horowitz of the University of Washington at Seattle, who has gone overseas with Smith: "He's a real monster."

As a child, he was an underachiever, Smith takes evident delight in deciphering the central mysteries of life. "I have visions up in the middle of the night and had an idea about an experiment and not been able to get back to sleep," he confesses. Last week, Smith took advantage of the media attention paid to his award to spend more government funding for basic science—and fewer restrictions on scientists. His new law, enacted, he expressed the hope that his prize will give young Canadian scientists confidence that "we can do world-class research in this country—I didn't have to be in Boston or Berkeley to do something that my colleagues around the world think is worthwhile."

As for what he plans to do with the roughly \$500,000 he will receive as a Nobel Prize winner, Smith considered the question briefly before replying: "I guess I'll have to take my job [and] go out for an expensive dinner," he said, and his eyes crinkled into corners again.

CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

As the daughter of screen icon Ingrid Bergman and Italian film director Roberto Rossellini, Isabelle Rossellini says that she "always felt a bit bad" when the first leguana came. "It was kind of a forbidden fruit in the same job as my parents," she told *Maclean's*. But while filming for her role as the smart, rebellious wife of a decorated husband in the new movie *Freedom*, Rossellini, 41, said that she felt unusually secure—partly because her costar is another second-generation showbiz child, Jeff Bridges, who grew up watching father Lloyd cross his way to fame on the 1930s in *Sea of Cortez*. The feeling was clearly mutual. "She has such a great spirit and a terrific laugh," and bridges, 43, of his co-star. "You can't take your eyes off her. She's just gorgeous, inside and out." The two actors spent weeks rehearsing to develop a sense of couple chemistry. "For me, it is to overcome the shyness," explained Rossellini, who is twice-divorced (from film editors



Rossellini: Like an intimate husband and wife

Daughters and sons

Martin Scorsese and Jonathan Wideman. "Your eyes are big. You look so lovely from there. So we did hang out together and have dinner. We'd improvise, and get a conversation going just like an intimate husband and wife." But what about Bridges' middle wife of 30 years, Susan? Did she mind that intimacy? "Well," Rossellini laughed, "we didn't go to bed together."

Thanks for the thanks

During his six years on television, the comedy show actor at various times did the singing in *Edgar Allan Poe*, *Tommy* and even from a house in Los Angeles where the entire cast lived and worked together. But the syndicated show, which ran from 1977 to 1983, was never produced in Vancouver. On Oct. 8, however, the veterans of the TV parody made up for that when they turned out for a tribute to the show staged by the Vancouver Film Festival. The occasion attracted 800 guests.

Once Thomas Martin Short, Harold Ramis, Andrea Martin and Catherine O'Hara, who introduced or staged at the Vogue Theatre between clips of the show. The extras

after a response from the sold-out crowd in the audience natural crowd Thomas to conduct at the end of the night that it was the first time the cast members had ever heard a low audience react in their material. "We were writing in Edmonton, we were writing in Toronto, we were writing all over the place and doing sketches in studios by our selves," Thomas said, "and we never heard anybody laugh." He added, "Tonight, when we were sitting here and we suddenly heard you laugh it was like, 'God, that is so great! Thank you!'"



PEOPLE

Confrontational course

According to an Indian legend, natives and Eskimoes were to peacefully travel one together on two boats that in his new book, *Ovako Mercurio*, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, says that journey has gone badly off course. In the chapter is a collection of Mercurio's speeches on indigenous issues, facing natives—Indian land claims and the tragedy of drug abuse among native children to the role of Indian gov-



Mercurio: A better understanding

ernment in Canada's seemingly by endless constitutional crisis. "I hope people who read the book will have a better understanding of the issues," says Mercurio. Still, with Canada possibly on the verge of electing a fragmented parliament and obsessed with controlling the deficit, he expresses little hope that native issues will receive a lot of attention. And if nothing is done, he says, the hearts of legend will continue on their separate routes. And that, he says, will lead to conflicts. Added Mercurio: "We want equality, respect, dignity and a sharing of the river we travel on."

Read all about it: Halifax is hip!

It is Friday, 10:30 p.m., and the place is wired. Under a purple spotlight, the lead singer of the up-and-coming band Leonard Cohen breathes in the swaying mass of young men and women jostling in the overbooked dance area. The crowd is a jumble of postees, lumberjack shirts, leather jackets, black-rimmed glasses, beards and thick-soled Doc Martens. At the Double Deuce Roadhouse, a hellacious motorcycle ride from the Halifax waterfront, the patrons work hard to look as though style is the last thing on their minds. This is, after all, the epitome of cool in a city that is suddenly being called one of the coolest on the continent. And there is no need to take the word of the closest college last boys, the hairy shorebirds, the heavy-eyed garage musicians from the suburbs who have congregated at the Double Deuce. Somewhere in the crowd are a couple of record executives from New Musical Express, the British indie label, and, on that day, a writer from *Six*, the seminal New York monthly, placed the Deuce's management to arrange another story on Halifax: the hip. "The whole thing," admits Mike MacKenzie, 36, Leonard Cohen's lead guitarist, "is a bit overhyped."

Now, wait just a minute. In this the same place that *Rolling Stone* once gave the stogie monster "Warrior of the Honor of the World." That has the whole group of "a conservative, colonial city," as historian Lou Collins put it? In this the workday provincial capital, university town and curl port at the heart of the depressed Maritimes? Not according to a recent issue of *Maplethorpe*, the New York City-based lesbian monthly, which placed Halifax badly among a new group of alternative North American hot spots, including Seattle, Wash., Austin, Texas, and Chapel Hill, N.C. In recent months, the defiant music magazine *Ninety Miles* and the American entertainment weekly *Rolling Stone* have raved about Halifax and its exploding music scene. A name well-saturated



A new music scene in the old provincial capital is suddenly winning rave reviews

city might be tempted to believe as own press clippings. But, as Greg Clark, co-manager of the Double Deuce, notes, "We know we're not the centre of the universe. It's just nice for people to know that we're part of it."

To understand Halifax's newfound fame, it makes sense to start at Cole Harbour, a heavily downtowned college town where the decidedly laid-back crowd has seen and read one too many foreign press stories discouraging their city. "Oh Christ, not another reputation," laments Farneth, 32, a blackhead bookstore clerk

and student at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, tells a visitor good-naturedly. To her bearded tabernacle, Tony Patkiewicz, 33, who left Halifax a decade ago because he found it too stagnant, the media hype is simply "absurd." Neatly, Peter Wapniewski, 30, the city's celebrated cartoonist, smiles as he considers the ephemeral nature of what is fast becoming "The magazine place has fallen on Halifax for a minute," he explains to a back drop of recorded jazz. "It will pass."

In truth, no one in the college-oriented

city looks old enough to remember the city's last brief burst with mainstream the 1960s and early 1970s, when American draft dodgers and visiting artists and actors spread the word in the United States of an emerging, self-styled "San Francisco North" (in Nova Scotia). Now, at any of the coffeehouses, bars and clubs that cater to the new wave of Halifax agnostics, the fashion is black leather, patchy headbands and shirts belching out marks. The group-rock look is also evident, although

there is a certain irony in that, grunge's old plaid shirts, blue jeans, teases and working clothes have long been standard issue in most Nova Scotia cities and towns. "Fashion," explains Farneth, "has overtaken the Maritimes."

Yet, any search for changes in the city of 125,000 people must go beyond the bourgeois bastions. Even those deeply skeptical of Halifax's new image admit that the place has acquired a certain workaholic in recent years. "It's not Greenwich Village," says Stephen Goss, a 34-year-old theatre director who recently moved back to Halifax, where he was born, after a decade in New York. "But sometimes I wonder if this was the same place I grew up in." In those days, the city could never have supported itself a diverse array of musical interests—punk, gospel, Celtic, alternative, classical—or the fringe theatre and film and broader festivals held each year. Like others, Goss notices a shift in attitude as the Halifax streets where the university employees, hospital workers, government bureaucrats and many imprisoned who are the backbone of the economy no longer has an eye at the walking street markets or the young streetboarders weaving through the historic downtown.

If Halifax really is, as Harper's Bazaar put it, "the very epitome of hip city," the changing face of the population is partly responsible. Although the city lost 12,000 jobs from 1980 to 1992, newcomers continue to pour on—former back-to-the-lands, returning inner-city and dough boys, past graduates of the area's five universities and colleges, followers of the Karma Dance School that Church that attracted its headquarters from Boulder, Colo., in 1985, and added to the city's cosmopolitan flair. Christopher Andrew Gills, 36, a local musician and journalist, "The people from away give Halifax a soul."

Still, Halifax would likely have lost its title secret had it not been for the sudden burst of musical activity that focused a larger spotlight on the city. Punk, grunge, post-rock—the raw, dissonant music has few obvious links to the city's ongoing roots or the Celtic-oriented music that is so prevalent in the rest of the region. It occurred a couple of years ago when a Shasta, a band composed of four young Halifax residents, released their first and two-record contract with Geffen Records, the label that carries Chir, Jon Mitchell, Guns N' Roses and the Seattle grunge-rock past. Nova. And after two other alternative rock groups—Echin's Trip, based in Moncton, N.B., and Jaws, an alternative band from Halifax—signed with a Seattle label, the city's music world was suddenly alive with talk of "the Halifax scene."

For all of that, most hometown musicians seep by



Scott (left), Penthead, Murphy, Ferguson from

Rocking the Atlantic

They work in a dank room in a shabby warehouse overlooking the grey waters of Halifax harbor. Although the makeshift studio may not be everyone's idea of the rock 'n' roll bag time, it is an entirely fitting setting for Stone, the youthful quartet that has spearheaded Halifax's alternative music explosion in the past two years. With their cluttered hair, flannel shirts and casual sneakers, the four members look the very model of the Seattle-style grunge bands to which they are often compared. But this is alternative rock, Canadian-style. And while American grunge acts such as Nirvana's Kurt Cobain roared from heroin addictions, the members of Stone up their own

rock talk policy in a manner that he trays their college educations and middle-class upbringing. "We're not on drugs," says Christopher Penthead, 21, drummer. Andrew Scott, 20, bassist, adds, "I'm not a drug addict, but I am a drug addict."

The story—which virtually every member of the Halifax music scene now knows by heart—is not told at all. As Scott puts it, "Our success is just a happy accident." Although only he and guitarist Patrick Penthead, 34, came from musical families, all four had long experience in garage-style bands when they divided two years ago to form a group. They recorded their first album in the home of a small local producer. Then, in June, 1992, their big break came when Geffen Records, Nirvana's label, signed

them to a guaranteed two-record deal. Stone's music, layered, often dissonant songs, which the members write themselves, tend to be about such everyday subjects as adolescence and their friends—in fact, the group's name refers to a mutual acquaintance. So far, their first album, *Stonehead*, has sold more than 100,000 copies and won positive reviews in *Rolling Stone* and the music magazine *Six*. Just when the four returned to Halifax last month to begin work on their new record, they had just completed a cross-Canada tour replete with sold-out 1,000-seat houses and wild fans.

Has success changed things? Not for them, they vehemently claim. Guitarist Jay Ferguson and bass player Chris Murphy, both 24, still live with their parents in Halifax, while Penthead has his own apartment. And although Scott has established a Toronto marriage in order to spend more time with his fiancée, sister Fiona Harb, the four insist that Halifax will remain their base. Not only is it where family and friends live, but it is also home to the music scene that they spawned. And the back-story city offers far fewer changes than a bigger centre would—a boon for a group intent on completing their second album by November. In securing an outpost for grunge in Atlantic Canada, Stone has put Halifax on the pop-music map.

playing gigs in bars. The best-known alternative bands pack them in at the Flamingo Club & Lounge, Café Dili and the Double Deuce. Some make recordings for small, local companies. But all hope to get lucky and sign a contract with the recording executives from Toronto, New York and Seattle who frequently fly in. "Everybody wants to be the next Sloan," explains Clark, who regularly books about 20 groups from the Halifax area into the Deuce.

In fact, the city's downtown hotels with Sloan rooms here, complete with turn-of-the-century gas heaters and the requisite heavy cordian paint and stained sheets. Some are the sons and daughters of well-to-do lawyers and doctors who shake their parents' managers and lobbyists as they stroll by the most highly-powered bar. Others dream of being disenchanted even before they arrive.

Their parents are the headlining dinomites or laying down a decent house rule. "We're going to get our public relations machine going; there we'll learn the assumptions," says Perovich, who is learning at the same time. A fine, like Rick Lennox, 23, who has been in the business since he was 18, and always played the pocket change on Hellcat.

Spring Garden Road, come from small towns and rural areas, attracted by the idea that a musical theme that Holzman seems to adore, "Man," he says, "this is the only place to be."

To Halifax's Old Guard, of course, the city's sudden mini-celebrity seems slightly bewildering. "Whether all of the businesses

cerned that too many people will find out about us and the cap will change too much. Apparently, some people think it already has when the daily *Wahine* (Chamorro-Morot) recently ran a front-page article on body-piercing (up, nose and earpiercing is a taboo statement). The newspaper received bag loads of negative mail.

But trust (and not be too
not worry. For the most
part, Hamilton's churches
have a history of stand-
ing firm against the shak-
ing sands. "The truth is
that there are many
scenes here, and when
the alternative music
thing passes they will still
be going strong," de-
clares Ian McGinnis, 31,
a Hellfire member and
leader of Bowline's in-
terfaith group. There's
a ballroom group. There
is the steamy glow of
the Double Deuce, re-
bust over the city and its
music is viewed with
more than a little al-
larm. "They represent
the best of Bowline,"
says Solomon Silver, a 36-

year-old guitar player. "What's going to be the next *Hollins*?" is a city that makes a subtle art of not taking itself too seriously, life will go on long after the record scouts have stopped coming.

30 years reads like a who's who of contemporary art—including such figures as painter Chris Paschi and photographer-film-maker Robert Frank, who now lives in Midbu Mies on Cape Breton Island. "One of my exhibitors often said me that having a scrap is like being Oxford or Cambridge in the middle of Halifax," said Mary Sperling, director of the Mount Saint Vincent University Art Gallery.

Time has softened NACAA's edge somewhat. But students from across North America still find a path to the school, scoring used clothing bins for the perfect combination of the eye-catching and the low-back that is the unofficial school uniform. The school's gallery is a hotbed of avant-garde painting and sculpture. And its faculty and students continue to embrace the local environment. Currently, the Mount Saint Vincent art gallery is holding an exhibition of work by five immigrant U.S. artists—including Frank and his companion, painter June Leahl—who were first lured to Nova Scotia by the college. The wider Halifax community may be

40

WHAT

LASTS

LONGER?



TOSHIBA

WILSON **AND** **WILSON**

Cošů Hlávka, rybníčky, poezie a další šahmaty českého národa



School for the avant-garde

[illegible]

tended MGCAD in the mid-1980s, and is now co-owner of the Soho, says that "the college brought lots of people here, but the city makes us stay."

The college of art has been a Hellenic focus since Anna Lowenkron, the British teacher who spent years in Spain and was instrumental in the classic musical *The Wreath* and *L'Amore* to the city and founded it in 1937. But only in the late 1980s did Canadian-born president Gary Keenley and a group of musicians from both Canada and the United States begin transforming the school into a widely renowned center for innovative art. "We were moved from New York, transferred from Europe, removed from Central Canada," says David Ferguson, an Ohio-born painter who joined the faculty in 1996. "I've given you the distance to pick apart from everywhere."

The international artistic world took notice. A 1973 article in the influential magazine *Art in America* suggested that NSCAD just might be "the best art school in North America." A lot of instructors over the past

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LEADERSHIP REVIEW

Conrad Black's autobiography examines politicians

In 1962, during his first semester at Ottawa's Carleton University, 18-year-old Conrad Black spent many hours in the library of Carleton's student gallery, then in the commons. And at night, he sat down in Canadian political education over paper cups with friends and a residential hotel where they all lived. Over the years, Black's interest—and involvement—in politics have not ebbed. He was editor in chief of Carleton's leading magazine and with one former prime minister, Brian Mulroney, a "friend," despite his "anarchism." Another prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, came to be regarded as his "big government." And, on behalf of Mulroney, he signed a third, John Turner, his ambassadorship to the Vatican. Now Black's familiarity with leading politicians of the past three decades is by no means limited to Canada. In the following excerpts from his autobiography, *A Life in Progress*, to be published on Nov. 1 by Key Porter Books Ltd., Black reveals his impressions of some of the leaders he has known and befriended.

Pierre Trudeau

In the spring of 1962, I was also receiving news attention from the most prominent of all Canadian politicians, Pierre Elliott Trudeau. My friends Jim Cairns and Tim Hawtrey, maximum-contrast opposites in the prime minister and overboarded political scholars, determined that I like Brian Mulroney and Jack Horner and a few other prominent conservative Conservatives should become a Liberal government cause. Trudeau asked me to dinner at his home, following a meeting with leading businessmen on the federal government's plan to reduce inflation with compensation increases of six and five per cent.

I was reasonably supportive of Trudeau, despite his extravagant liberal economic policies and his vulnerability to almost any leftward twist in the world.

His rejection of ethnic, occupational, regional, and sexual groups defined public policy and ultimately allowed him to lead the country. He, more than anyone, hoped Canada was a people of vibrant political consensus without affects.

I was told to associate what I considered Trudeau's appealing politics of shortchanges, because on the greatest time he had to live: relations between English and French-Canadians. He was creative, tenacious, and, for many years, indefatigable.

He lived like a Beethoven in a 20th-century house. There was very little furniture in the house, except for the dining room, which had to have a table and chairs in function at all.

His was the most brilliant star in the country, he was better qualified than anyone to know that the destruction of the nation



Black (right) with Reagan and Mulroney: the prime minister had "real shortcomings," the president was a "sociopath"

English-Canadian man regarded that the highest, most agile from be led low, as a cat, with a garden of birds, passed the most swiftly flying and highly feathered, the one whose destruction would most frighten the others.

It was, I suggested, a modern dream, corroded by real-deceiving envy, to eliminate all those who might say to anything is the slightest exception. Trudeau asked that he was well familiar with the English-Canadian man regarded that the highest, most agile from be led low, as a cat, with a garden of birds, passed the most swiftly flying and highly feathered, the one whose destruction would most frighten the others.

In any event, it was clear that I was not enthusiastic about seeking political office, but it was, as always with Pierre Trudeau, a most interesting discussion.

Brian Mulroney

Brian Mulroney did the honorable as well as the expedient thing: by retiring in the spring of 1989. Despite his unsuccessful attempts to get away much of the federal jurisdiction, he was in power longer than any other Canada has had since Louis Saint-Laurent. Not overburdened

With Thatcher, Turner (below): 'she was obviously feminine, a very strong woman'

with convictions, ending always to conclude the most personal life, he was, then, had shortly after the path of responsible public expectations we had known when he wanted me in Palm Beach two years before. I've made his triumph, but he left his office as he came to it, an inhibited personality.

As many of his friends had feared, after a lifetime of ardent pursuit of Canada's highest political office, Brian was unable to build a real constituency based on a community of national goals. It would be a political imperative as well as impractical to coalesce his public record in *Death of a Statesman*, but there are a few sad traces of just such a political life. Shortly after leaving office, Brian was rather embittered, reproachful of his compatriots and unconvinced that they could save Canada at work.

Apart from his real shortcomings and being grossly underappreciated by his countrymen for his creative, innovative, Brian always conveyed to me the impression of greatly exaggerating the importance of his office. The Canadian political system is so predictably fragmented and the population so regionally fractious, the federal prime minister's role comes chiefly at cabinet debates with his practical analysis. By the time Brian conveyed such confessions, the whole Canadian political system had become a tedious and depressing talking shop, involving borrowed money around a population composed almost entirely of self-proclaimed geographic, ethnic, behavioral, and physiological victims. Democratic countries normally just the governments they desire, but I am not convinced that such an obvious, whirling group in Canada had become in the mid-1980s could be expected to fundamentally well-situated a political classmate in Brian Mulroney.

John Turner

I encountered John early often through his years in politics. He was me to a performance of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra in Ottawa's Capital Theatre in 1984 and participated in the final concert by fellow singer, "Moby, Zulu," in reference to the candidate, John Mulroney. He always conveyed a sense of lack of man, rather than with real intellect at all.

At the time of his wedding, he was a Canadian Kennedy, a talented, well-educated, at times, Catholic, John Turner was destined to have a brilliant future. So he would have had he not been unfairly confined to only a few months of center stage between a Trudeau who was reluctant to leave it and a Mulroney who was implicitly determined to succeed. John went almost overnight from tomorrow's man to yesterday's without ever enjoying the day as he actually lived. (After a Turner assassination last month, he was in 1983, Brian Mulroney called me and asked me to offer John the post of ambassador to the Vatican, in absolute confidence and retaining the ability to deny the offer if he was treated unfairly. It wasn't, but John declined the offer somewhat begrudgingly, saying he had expected better but wouldn't have accepted it anyway. It was a generous gesture by the prime minister.)



Margaret Thatcher

She impressed me as having life historical perspective before the time of Churchill, but a powerful sense of how to make contemporary Britain prosperous and internationally influential. In pursuit of these goals, neither her courage nor her stamina could be eroded by even the most or most crushing challenges. Although Britain's determined and fortified with a tendency to be overbearing, she was not at all arrogant, used her own vulnerability almost to the point of exaggerating it—and was suitably cautious towards the household staff.

She was extraordinarily purposeful, but had no discernible interest in holding her great office for enjoyment of munificence only, unlike most politicians I have known. She lived power, but only for the perfection of her idea of Britain, as a strong, general, transcendent kingdom with a world vocation. And she was always friendly, a very strong woman but not at all a woman one, almost Elizabethan in her manner, courage, and in the looks and fineries of her likes and dislikes.

Ronald Reagan

His intellect is not unlike Ted, but in his phase he was far from being intelligent. Ronald Reagan impressed me as a man of instilling self-confidence and positive optimism: courageous, decisive, and positive.

His vague, counterproductive, impractical, and successful response to almost everything could be disconcerting, but he was a shrewd, a response in talent, if not as intelligent or knowledgeable of his own powers, as Roosevelt or Duane. However he did it, he redefined America: the combination of the 600-city army, 19 million net new jobs, virtual elimination of inflation, victory in the Cold War, and a 28-per cent gross personal income-tax rate qualified him in my estimation for Mount Rushmore.

As Henry Kissinger said, he was "not a chess player, but a soccer player and a brilliant one," and he kept running the water until his Soviet opponent was bankrupt. The Reagan Revolution was the Cold War, the greatest, most bloodless, most benign strategic victory since the war of the nation-state; it redefined America, reestablished the presidency's place in the American system, and renewed two flags of the state's head from the pockets of its people. □



Echoes of 'the Irish Question'

BY GEORGE BAIN

I have been doing some reading about the Irish party in the House of Commons at Westminster in the 1880s. What has to do with our current politics and the election. I am not sure—probably not much, but it would be more comfortable to be able to say with assurance: "Nothing." However, if Lucien Bouchard and the Bloc Québécois come even close to the revolt some late polling has indicated for Oct. 25, and if they are of a mind to take lessons from Charles Stewart Parnell and his followers, and castrate a senior parliamentary wit and the defences to apply them to our next Parliament, here he is:

In the English-language television debate, Audrey McLaughlin accused Bouchard of being naive to reach Canada. He replied with irony: when there is no reason to believe we're rejected, that he had as much to gain as we—except that nothing except to dream about again that precisely the same circumstances can sustain presently opposite, and equally presently held, interpretations of different people. The explanation here is simple. The Lucien Bouchard, Quebec and Canada are two distinct entities. Therefore, what he and his supporters will be having been elected entirely in Quebec, is to create a province as Quebec interests. That is what he has said. To Audrey McLaughlin, Quebec as a part of one entity called Canada, and, whether so intended or not, the Bloc's commitment to the interests of Quebec must necessarily make it oblivious to the interests of her larger Canada.

I do not suggest that the Irish Question, as it was known in Britain, and the Quebec Question, or "The Constitution," as the issue has become known generally in Canada, make sense possible that there are enough similarities to make it difficult to say any ground for comparison exists. Marie and Corner Corner O'Brien, in their *Conquest History of Ireland*, and of Parnell's movement that by 1890, the year before Parnell's death,

If Lucien Bouchard and the Bloc Québécois are of a mind to take a lesson from the Irish party in Britain in the 1880s, heaven help us

it had been a rational measure of Irish reform, extremely important there but with no parallel here, but it had also become the sobriety in England of the prevalent assumption that no special political status could be accorded to Ireland.

That strikes a harder note. It was because he did not believe, given the failure of the March 1880 election, that the solidarity of English Catholics against any special status for Quebec had been broken, or even would be, that Bouchard abandoned much more he had in his mind in regard to a union to a new alignment between Quebec and the rest of Canada and plunged directly to embracing the ultimate solution—separatism.

Also the proposition that a much enlarged Bloc Québécois will be in Parliament worthy to represent Quebec interests has a certain resonance with the situation the Irish nationalists saw themselves in, and some Irish leaders of today say they simply responded to it. In this light, they often could be said not to have been swayed by anything. However, the excellent effort to be in being parliamentary business usually to a half for three years and to leave. Indeed the dominant cause for the rest of the decade—with fewer numbers

than the Bloc will have. There two or three years of obstruction, and the distraction to government it would produce, are not a project to be looked upon with equanimity in Canada's difficult economic circumstances. When O'Day wrote in The English House of Irish Nationalists, "There is no doubt, the Irish party [sic] favoured the government. Yet this was, after all, why the Irish had been sent to Westminster..." From the Parnell point of view, the Imperial Parliament was considering concerns distasteful to the majority of their constituents and they in MP had every right... to resist their project." Most of the obstruction, in his analysis, was related to matters bearing on an Irish interest. However, what is more apparent is that there were few nations which could not be seen as affecting some direct Irish interest. This would be the Irish type in Ottawa, since some of what Parliament does is contained in effect.

When the Liberal government of William Edward Gladstone replied to obstruction by moving to tighten the rules of the House of Commons, that became very much an Irish interest. Because out of all the obstructions he carried outside the rules, maintaining them became an act in itself. The result was that, by O'Day's account, after an 1881 session that was referred to facetiously as "the one or maybe still better," came an 1882 session, the first part of which "was a continuation of the Irish struggle, while the second was wholly devoted to passing new rules of procedure."

Could a national party in Canada reasonably self-called, coherent as to religion, language, history, not produce a similar effect? It is difficult to see why not, given the cause and solid support of the Irish party in the century procedure in Ottawa in the 1880s, are not the state in at Westminster in the 1880s—one single sitting there at the height of the obstruction went on for 40 hours, we don't do that—but, in the night to speak is inferior in any parliament, a determined 30 or 40 hours would not be much less. The media would love, with cameras and all, the Parliaments would have been in heaven. And the cause? An election will occur in Quebec within a year. The Liberals in Quebec will be out of the hands of Robert Borden. In the event of the election of a Parti Québécois government bent on separation, why would not a Bloc Québécois in Ottawa choose to emulate the Parliaments? Their tactics in Parliament were rendered in English, which baffled the Irish party not at all, their tactics went down very well here too.

In our current national election campaign, both the media and the politicians, either by their silence or by saying, as in the case particularly of Jean Chrétien and Audrey McLaughlin, that Canadians are not interested at this time in "the Coast issue," have been encouraging the dangerously complex and self-respecting of Irish solution at any price. That we need better our little heads about. Taking into account what the polls have been indicating, and the historical evidence of a similar political phenomenon in another time and place, would that?



DR. NEIL PATERSON
Party Leader
Natural Law Party
Candidate of the United
Independent
Government of Nations

"A GROUP OF LAW EXPERTS practicing Transcendental Meditation and Yoga Flying is the absolute requirement for the national government if it is to be successful."

"Why? Because government must be able to protect people's freedom. When national consciousness is not maintained on a high level of integrity, coherence, and harmony, the national government will never serve all the diverse groups in all the diverse groups with equity and justice — and the nation will be harmed in its problems."

"Extensive research has found that Yoga Flying is the absolute requirement for the national government, which can protect all people's freedom, which can protect all people's freedom."

"Changing the government from party to party election does not change the basic foundation of governance. We are bringing new knowledge in politics. We are the only political party whose specialty is to promote harmony and harmony of ideas in daily life and create an integrated national consciousness through a group of 3,000 Yoga Flyers."

"We believe Canadian desire a perfect government that will never have to face problems. That is why we are exploring the mandate and for a group of 3,000 Yoga Flyers."

NATURAL LAW PARTY
500 Wilfrid Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N2
Tel: (613) 555-8517

How the Natural Law Party Will Create a Perfect Government

Extensive scientific research has found that group practice of Yoga Flying induces collective stress and creates a highly integrated national consciousness — the absolute requirement for any government if it is to protect freedom and satisfy everyone.

A GROUP FOR AN IMPROVED GOVERNMENT

To create an integrated national consciousness that will bring the full support of Natural Law to Canada and prevent problems from arising, the Natural Law Party will establish in Ottawa a Group for a Government — 1000 Yoga Flyers. This group will release the United Field of Natural Law, creating peace and harmony in our lives. As a result, all needs in the nation will be more positive and evolutionary.

INTEGRATED NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The government is always governed by the collective consciousness of the nation. The national consciousness, or national mind, governs the nation, just as the individual mind governs the individual and the cosmic mind governs the universe. The influence of positivity and harmony generated by the group of 3,000 Yoga Flyers will dissolve all negative mind and create an integrated, unified national consciousness in the form of an integrated, unified, and clear government, which can protect all people's freedom.

YOGA FLYING

Yoga Flying develops the ability of the individual to function from the United Field of Natural Law, the overall consciousness of the entire universe. Just as an order from the Prime Minister commands the total authority and resources of the nation, so the Government in principle from the United Field of Natural Law commands the infinite energy.

RELEASING POWER OF NATURAL LAW FOR AN IMMEDIATE FULL EFFECT

GROUP FLYING: The group practice of Yoga Flying releases the United Field of Natural Law in the whole national consciousness. This group will release the United Field of Natural Law, creating peace and harmony in our lives. As a result, all needs in the nation will be more positive and evolutionary.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Extensive scientific research has found that group practice of Yoga Flying induces collective stress and creates a highly integrated national consciousness — the absolute requirement for any government if it is to protect freedom and satisfy everyone.

This research has been published in leading, peer-reviewed scientific journals including the Journal of Conflict Resolution, the Journal of Mind and Behavior, Social Indicators Research, and the Journal of Crime and Justice.

More recently, just last June and July, a group of 3,000 Yoga Flyers in Washington, D.C. created such a highly positive energy field that violent crime dropped — approximately 25% below predicted levels — and the U.S. government + per

INVISIBLE OFFENSE

Today, Canada (and growing threats so its security) which can

national means of defense are powerless to resist. The national consciousness we face an entire country's depression and debt, low productivity, dissatisfaction, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, and crime, which is the result of Canadian society, and the rise of separatism which threatens our nation's very unity. The immediate external enemy we face is a combination of crime from around the world, particularly from south of our border, where crime is growing with alarming speed. In the absence of integrated national and world consciousness, even the possibility of war can never be ruled out. The only shield against these serious threats to our nation is an integrated national consciousness in Canada's national consciousness.

EXEMPLARY GOVERNMENT

Research has found that a group of 3,000 Yoga Flyers in Ottawa will create a highly integrated national consciousness, preventing the loss of separate identity within our society (cultural, economic, and political), and protecting our society from outside influences coming from beyond our borders (external enemies).

Harmony and positivity will create an Canadian national consciousness as well as protect the nation from outside influences coming from beyond our borders (external enemies).

The new government of Canada will be an exemplary government in the world, in efficiency and efficiency in the Government in principle which administers the universe with perfect order and without a problem.

Maximum Coherence of Brain Functioning during Yoga Flying



Yoga Flying is a phenomenon of a thought projected from transcendental consciousness, the Unified Field of Natural Law, which is the source of all energy in the universe. This is the simplest way to create a highly integrated national consciousness, which can protect all people's freedom, which can protect all people's freedom.

Don't waste your vote on failure. Success belongs to Natural Law. Vote Natural Law Party.
Read the Platform of the Natural Law Party — Call (613) 555-8517 for a copy if you have not yet received one

Never say die

A plane crash survivor feels immortal

FEARLESS

Directed by Peter Weir

Jeff Bridges is one of Hollywood's most unfettered talents. He acts with a natural ease, projecting the sort of likability, warmth and sex appeal that leading men are made of. But in recent years, Bridges has subverted his idyllic image with the cunning of a chamber actor. Never accepting himself, he has taken on off-kilter roles after another. Playing a mad-dog in *Jagged Edge* (1985), he used his charm as a ruse. As a car inventor in *Tucker* (1986), he exploited it to create a blinding parody of American overconfidence. In *The Fabulous Baker Boys* (1989), his charisma unconsidered behind a hard-baked ego. Then, in *The Fisher King* (1991), Bridges let loose as a burned-out, jaded hero who falls in with a schizophrenic.

The actor's best work has been over-shadowed by Michael Pfeiffer in *Baker Boys* and by Robin Williams in *Fisher King*. But with his new movie, *Twelve Monkeys*, there is no danger of that. Bridges gives the performance of his career in an exceptionally juicy role. He plays a San Francisco architect who has delusions of immortality after surviving a plane crash. Directed by Australia's Peter Weir (1981's *Dead Poets Society*), the movie simulates the rigors of a near-death experience. It is by turns harrowing, hallucinatory and deeply moving.

The film examines fear of death with moviegoer sympathy. And for Bridges, it is an opportunity to explore the basic chemistry of staying the course of immortality. "So much of our work deals with fear, whether regarding it or blemishing through it," he told *MovieWeek* recently in Los Angeles. "Fear of embarrassment is something that actors come up against all the time. Sometimes it's nice to just sit it out, or to go right through it. You play with it—it becomes a threat that you get to know better over the years."

Twelve Monkeys is a corollary to southern California. Men (Bridges) has just crawled from the wreckage of a plane crash, gulping fellow passengers to safety. Flirting images of Berlin convey the random nature of what happens and what doesn't. In a catatonic champagne bottle, clattering across the ground, a sleek cowboy boot, a metal wine-waiter on a charred arm.

Max wanders away from the scene, starts a

car and drives to Los Angeles, where he looks up an old friend. He does not even bother calling his wife and son in San Francisco. He is locked in the euphoria of being alive, a kind of post-traumatic stress disorder.

When he finally makes it home, Max leaves his family in the dust while admiring his new journey. But life is not all champagne. Death. He strolls through heavy traffic, he believes in



the roof of a building. It has his last of love. But also just all of his life with the tube, glasses, and precision of civilization. He has contempt for both the three.

He is assigned to him by the wife (John Turturro) and the lawyer seeking damages for the crash (Chris Hanks). Max's wife, Susan (Debra Ruggieri), is compassionate. But she becomes alarmed when her husband feels a

soil taste in another crash survivor, a pretty young Puerto Rican named Carla (Sherry Stringfield). Carla is devastated by grief after losing her toddler son in the crash, and Max takes it upon himself to save her. Friedman has some forced moments, most of them in a captured scene where Max and Carla by Christmas presents for the dead. But on the whole, the movie sidesteps cliché and sentiment while Weir seems down life's

"big questions" with transcendental wit. Weir, he places the crash scene at the end of the film, as a flashback that unfolds to the carefully laid and agonized *Symphony No. 3* by Henryk Górecki.

The movie has religious overtones—as Carla's childhood pastor, Max is a conservative Christian figure—but the drama is grounded by the complexity of the characters. In an astounding departure from playing feather-weight girlfriends, Pfeiffer acts up a storm with a soul-baring, heartrending performance. And Ruggieri, as a wife who refuses to be a victim, finally has a dignified role that does justice to her intelligence. But the movie belongs to Bridges, whose keenly focused performance lights up the drama on multiple levels—from metaphors to marital conflict. On one level, the crash hits Max like a monstrous middle crisis after 18 years of marriage. He puts wife and family on hold to look for comfort relief.

Bridges, 43, has himself been married 16



Bridges is a keenly focused performer in a juicy role

years. When the coincidence is pointed out, he laughs and says that it never occurred to him. In preparing for *Twelve Monkeys*, the actor did delve into his past—all the way back to his birth. In the delivery room, his mother had an allergic reaction to a spinal anesthetic. "My heart started to stop, and her heart started to stop," he says. "The doctor had to stop her anesthetic. I don't know how you can remember something like that. But when my mother was telling me this, I was recalling it each moment." In an answer, we're born it. Adds Bridges: "We have that choice. We can accept the change or resist it, but the change is going down." In *Twelve Monkeys*, Bridges meets it head-on.

JEAN H. JOHNSON



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CANADA'S FAVORITE NEWS MAGAZINE

BOOKS

Maclean's producers, and Lee himself intended
as a young man to become a novelist.

But it was language that ultimately won
his devotion. In 1968, he gave up a promising
career as a literary academic at the University
of Toronto, hoping to improve his poetry
(which at the time was dead and unalive), he
said by rubbing shoulders with the real
world. The next few years were extraordinarily
productive. He helped launch Toronto's
experimental Rockdale College and, along
with writer Dave Godfrey, co-edited *The
House of Assisi*, which published new Canadian
writers. Lee finally found his true poetic
voice in the long, meditative lines of *Civil
Disgrace*, his reminiscences on the place of the
private individual in public life. During those
years, Lee also married Diana Youngblut
and fathered the two children for whom he
first wrote his children's poems. From the
1970s to the present, his writing for young
people has supplied the bulk of his income.

Rift had its origins in the breakup of Lee's
first marriage. That happened in 1981, when
the poet was living in Edinburgh as part of a
writer's exchange program. The next year,
he began an affair with a Canadian woman
living in Illinois. When his lover had to leave
for a month (they eventually separated for
good), he found himself "sitting up late and
drinking too much," he said. "The mad late
crisis soul was happening with a vengeance."
One night, while listening to early rock 'n'
roll, Buddy Holly on headphones, he
grabbed a pen and began writing rapidly. "It
was virtually automatic writing," Lee said,
"and in the morning there were these 35- to
40-page, a few of them in a voice that was
absolutely not mine."

Like the summer of Rift, Lee became ad-
dicted to writing those short poems as a way
of connecting with the creative energy spark-
ed by his absent lover. Over the next four or five
months, he collected several hundred of
them. But for 18 years he was unable, despite
writing what he estimates were "many thou-
sands of pages—three or four hundred
drafts," to shape them into a satisfying whole.
Then, two years ago, he finally let upon the
idea of introducing a third character into the
story line of Rift: the husband of the mem-
orist's lover. A partly fictional creation, he gave
the story both a more dramatic shape and
new possibilities for moral reflection.

Lee's driving energy and facility to craft
made Rift an unusually easy book of poems to
read. And while it sometimes indulges in
poor-knowledge exclamation at the expense of
deeper emotion, it also yields into misty little
eddies of complex, original beauty. Its rit-
mos is deeply moving, with its reverberant
image of dolphins sailing over a silver sea.

Lee himself will sorrow in delight in the in-
tellectual playfulness of his new book, in his eager
ness to read from it in a crowded restaurant
shower. And if the winks of his inimitable
coffee shop critics are any indication, he will,
as they say in jazz, has all his chips.

JOHN REMFORD

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

Maclean's

THE THIRD ANNUAL

MACLEAN'S REPORT ON AND RANKING OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES



ON SALE
NOVEMBER 8



5511-570000



Fear and loathing on the Campbell trail

BY ALLAN POTTERINGHAM

Travel is always more interesting than triumph. Mr Shakespeare taught us all that some time ago. The most fascinating story of this bizarre election is not that two former old soldiers Juan Christen clashing away powerfully to victory. More interesting is the collapse of the Conservatives' racehorse minister. A smart reporter gets ahead of the Campbell Collie.

The Tory campaign is composed of part persons, part convulsions, large bursts of ego—and no discernible pattern. The collapse of the campaign has clearly gone wrong. Go figure the Conservative genius who had the Prime Minister utter an embarrassing dig, fly over his hours from Ottawa to Vancouver for a single event, an embarrassing little speech attempting to save the seat of the unsinkable Lord Solheim—and then head east again in a meandering trail that is more bus than home.

What we have here are some cowardly and power-stricken Tory horses in Ottawa (let us call these Chalmers) and trying to program a Prime Minister who doesn't take direction. They push the button on the back of the robot but the robot doesn't respond.

Not on speech style. Not on dress. Not on press relations. This dig must hurt, as they say in Georgia: Nothing goes right.

The Campbell campaign plan, as all these things degenerate into assemblies a la carte to democracy. Scribble TV commentators (plain clothesmen with things in their ears, his devils, handlers, managers, wagon masters) all cooped up in a silver grid that races across the country endlessly (let us call this machine the air of an arbitrary horse bus).

Each major power, either commercial passengers in their private vehicles, hawks down into the seat that has become a horse away from home, pouring it with pistol dig-pigs, photon shock bats, disoriented hair-boys—a television guarding the particular trail, rather like a groundhog in a burrow.

This scribbler, who missed the 1986 and 1988 campaigns while otherwise occupied in



the great democracy in our seats, notices one difference: In the early days of the campaign, the fellow travels in the press took up two thirds of the seats. The Prime Minister and small entourage swarmed all in the front third of the craft.

As the press took back swarmed over the press to interview, there are not that many typhoid aboard. Nature shows a vicious and now the PM's front of the case trends towards all the way to the back—the buzz, the head bidders, the speech writers, the age doctors, a pack of people with cell phones who dress well and look nervous.

A perplexed observer never to sleep—then Vancouver to find there is education to Saskatchewan to Riverside to North Bedford to Toronto—and still not find out what all these bodies do. The answer is clear: They spend the taxpayer's lot. Cost for a reporter to go the whole campaign route: \$18 000.

In education the candidate refers to this famous campaign? Reporters look at each other. Education? Home of Peter Tuck and the world's largest mall. The candidate is clearly exhausted though not emotional.

The three huge buses in Tary blue and white number past the yellow suburbs in the fall prime. After the Seventy years when this town media audience was located, The only Cruise wrote the classic *The Boys on the Bus*, a journalistic description of what happens when too many people are in each other's face for too long.

It is now the girls in the bus. They are all blond, as television demands, their rolled backs reaching the wheat fields they appear. The boys on the bus dress like mountaineers who own one pair of jeans. The girls on the bus have a cross-section waiting and look like something off the front page of *Cherish*. A talent a lot of work. Who said he was fat.

In North Bedford dozens of kinder garden children sitting cross-legged on the floor in front of the adults, the Prime Minister sits at her "disinfection table." A national reporter, rolling his eyes, shifts off his tape recorder after 10 minutes.

There is incipient envy among the third crew in the bus for the seasoned reporter—one of the most graceful writers in Canada's journalism—who has been based for seemingly nothing on this death march with not only mountains but lush, oceanic and magic landscapes.

This may be the only one able to scribble in the lead, magic landscapes being the perfect diet for someone aboard the Campbell Collie. When asked why she is blaming the media, she says to a reporter "Are you having trouble sleeping?" He answers a choice for the bus, but all the campaign "Not during your speech a Prime Minister."

On the plane-to-forest, for dancing to the music is suddenly interrupted by Cindy, the bus driver, who has slouched her Greyhound-like uniform and appears in a dress to do for her is a given woman. The lady reporters suddenly find a lot of interest in John Graham. His hair has a silver, where everyone owns a cell phone, scribbles are phoning their office notes on the Chalmers corner, comparing their lines. In small towns, the Campbell reporters shuffle the national press off to a holding room, not letting them witness her coping with the head bidders. They regard the press as a natural enemy, and the candidate of the "politics of outsiders" gets the expected reward.

This may not have been the worst campaign ever run, but it comes close.

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